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A Cabinet Minister on Post-War "Reconstruction"

Martin Dell

Private Radio Gangs Up

R. B. Tolbridge

Democracy In Education

Isabel Thomas

Virginia Woolf

Robert Finch

Concentration of Industry

Editorial

Break of Day

Margaret Avison

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TORONTO, ONTARIO, NOVEMBER, 1942

Manpower Scramble

HAVING FAILED to attain his summer objectives in the east, Hitler is preparing to dig in on all fronts, while Goebbels works overtime to reconcile the German people to another winter of war. If only a quarter of the stories are true, the Nazis face a rising tide of resistance in the occupied areas. Whatever grand strategy the United Nations have is veiled in secrecy. Apparent differences between the leaders are feeding the enemy propaganda mills, and lack of precise knowledge lends a savor of futility to popular clamor for more concerted and spectacular action. Is Africa, perhaps, to be the scene of the real Big Push?

Meanwhile, Canada's war government still appears to be dashing off madly in all directions, full of glory but lacking a coherent plan. Now that our "business as usual" structure is at last being squeezed and combed for men, the need for such a plan is becoming apparent even to those who lately were screaming for a bigger army, regardless of our ability to maintain it and keep our factories and farms working on expanding war production at the same time. Gold mining, a thoroughly "unproductive" industry in wartime, is finally to be curtailed. But why "concentration" is apparently to begin with the retail and wholesale trades, when much greater human reserves are available in a dozen non-essential industries, is a little hard to understand. Might it perhaps be partly because the latter are heavy advertisers in that "free" press which still wields considerable power in our liberal capitalist democracy even in wartime?

Nothing Matters But--?

BY THE TIME this appears in print Canadians will have gone far towards a big "oversubscription" of the \$750,000,000 Third Victory Loan. That the new bonds would all be taken up there was never much doubt. They are an excellent investment for anyone with the money. The only point at issue was how far people of modest income

could be induced to divert their earnings from the purchase of consumer goods to the purchase of bonds, thus tightening the curb placed by taxes and compulsory savings on the inflationary trend of wartime prosperity. The government's advertising, with its curiously blended appeal to patriotism and self-interest, has again competed successfully with the spate of commercial advertising. The latter continued to do its best to lure people in the opposite direction, even while some of its authors, in expensive "sponsored" advertisements (exempt from income tax), were imploring readers to buy the new bonds because "nothing matters now but victory."

The official prospectus stated that the proceeds of the loan will be used "to finance expenditures for war purposes." We wonder whether this includes any provision for the cost of living bonus to dependents of men in the fighting forces, failure to grant which remains a blot on our "war effort." For that matter, why not set aside out of these millions, no doubt intended mainly for "tools," enough to provide a modest raise in pay for those we are asking to wield them? Comparisons between the pay of Canadian fighting men and Canadian workers are invidious. In many cases, the latter are underpaid, though when it comes to "sacrifice," all basis of comparison disappears. But so far as money is a measure at all, it may be questioned whether, in proportion to expenditures on materiel, we are doing as much for our fighting men as proper consideration for the human factor in warfare would dictate. At least there should be none of the niggling and red tape in caring for the dependents of men listed as missing, such as that which disgraced us after Dieppe.

Ban and Bandwagon

DIFFICULTY in distinguishing between the "acceptance" of communism and recognition of the Communist party of Canada, however strange in a minister of justice, seems the principle

reason why Mr. King still hesitates to follow the recommendation of the parliamentary committee and the wishes of all liberal elements in Canada and lift the ban on the party. If Hon. Mr. St. Laurent would only realize that, if the ban continues, the Communist Party will go on pursuing its political activities through various "front" organizations as in the past, he might see the matter in a different light. The party's ideals, insofar as they may not be helpful to a genuine Canadian war policy, can be much more easily countered if it is a legally recognized party. Its sincerity in supporting the war (under present circumstances) can scarcely be doubted. Its members' capacity for single-minded devotion to ideals has been demonstrated repeatedly, its faults having always been of the head rather than the heart. Should its "line" suddenly change once again, the interests of the state can be served by dealing with its members individually.

The statement of Mr. Tim Buck that the party will abandon socialist objectives, since "nothing matters now but victory," accords as thoroughly with the wishes of our capitalist leaders and governors as the assurance of Bill Green of the AFL that labor will defend capitalism to the last ditch. On the other hand, the CCF will continue to work for these objectives. The "surrender" of such aims is an easy one for the Communists, because they have always believed less in persuasion than in sudden seizure of power. More and more Canadians are coming to see that the CCF ideal of a coöperative commonwealth offers the only real solution of our economic and social difficulties, and that it can be brought about by consent of the majority through democratic constitutional action. Therefore the CCF has no intention of abandoning its advocacy of measures which it believes are not only desirable for the proper organization of our society in peacetime, but essential to a total war effort.

Mr. Raymond and the Bloc Populaire Canadienne

MR. MAXIME RAYMOND has now announced the name and general program of his new political party for Quebec. It is to be known as the "Bloc Populaire Canadien"—which is as difficult to translate as "Coöperative Commonwealth Federation." Its appeal is to all those who wish to "regenerate Quebec polities" and who are willing to place "the province and nationalism" above the interests of private individuals and groups. The party or movement (for Mr. Raymond does not like the word "party") is thus based squarely on an

appeal to French-Canadians to subordinate political activity to racial and national (i.e. French-Canadian) objectives, and to end the internal divisions in Quebec which membership in the dominion-wide parties involves. At the same time a "full and loyal collaboration" with the political life of the rest of Canada is promised. The BPC will enter both federal and provincial politics, and aims to create at Ottawa a solid, unbreakable French-Canadian bloc to defend the interests of the race. The French-Canadian, says Mr. Raymond, is menaced at Ottawa by the growing centralization, and at Quebec by a lack of national spirit. Both dangers will be fought.

On the economic front the BPC will undertake numerous reforms based on the principle that this is a Christian country and should be governed accordingly. Human capital will be placed first. Family life will be protected, particularly in the rural districts. Public health and education will be promoted, hospitals built, and slums removed. Trades-unions are promised support, and steps will be taken to remove the inequalities of wages as between Quebec and other provinces. Coöperative societies will receive encouragement. The natural resources will be developed for the benefit of all, for, as Mr. Raymond puts it, "Private interests, even the most powerful, have no right to place themselves ahead of the interests of the community."

All this is very interesting. In part it is sensible and progressive, in part narrow and reactionary. To elevate the status of the French Canadian, in all that pertains to his culture, his education, and his economic security, is a noble ideal. We shall not have a Canada of which we can feel justly proud so long as any portion of her people, of any race or creed, is economically depressed and spiritually confused. A sense of frustration, we can all agree, is bad for every human being. If Mr. Raymond and his group of supporters can help to lead Quebec along a road of greater progress and prosperity, toward a fuller development of the innate qualities of the French Canadian, everyone in this country should wish him well. That such is his sincere intention we have no doubt. What we doubt is the possibility of success by the methods he has chosen. For the Bloc Populaire Canadien seems to start from the assumption of racial conflict as a permanent factor in Canada. The very word "Bloc" suggests a racial group trained for battle against racial enemies. The exaggerated fear of "centralization" suggests that it is possible for one province to improve its economic status by itself in this day of wide industrialization and international interdependence.

Both these ideas we believe are fallacies, and

very dangerous fallacies. Wages in Quebec are lower, not only for the French Canadian but for the English Canadian worker also. They are lower because private industry, which knows no race, is able to play off one section of Canada against another; lower, too, because the French Canadian worker is told not to join his fellow citizens in powerful trades-unions that can operate in all provinces. A great deal of the segregation of Quebec is due precisely to the spirit which Mr. Raymond exploits when he divides Quebec politically from the rest of the country. French Canadians will not pull themselves out of their economic backwardness unless they join with their fellow workers and farmers in all parts of Canada in a great movement of national (i.e. Canadian) reconstruction. The policy of the BPC is valid only if Quebec believes she is capable of seceding from Confederation and this we believe is both undesirable and impossible. Mr. Raymond will imperil none of his racial aspirations if he should choose the path of coöperation rather than racial division.

New Deal in the CBC

SOMETHING of what went on behind the scenes following the parliamentary committee's report on the CBC is revealed in the orders in council finalizing the new managerial set-up. It appears that the first proposal of the board—that Mr. Gladstone Murray be appointed by the cabinet to the new post of director general of broadcasting at a salary of \$14,000, with authority equal to that of the new general manager, Dr. J. S. Thompson—was rejected by the government. Mr. Murray then withdrew his resignation as general manager, but the same day thought better of it and decided to accept the revised terms. These were that he be appointed to the new post, not by the cabinet, but by the CBC, at a salary of \$12,000. He thus becomes an employee of the Corporation, responsible to the general manager, in charge of programs but without control over expenditures, and subject to delimitation of his functions, and even to dismissal, by the latter without reference to the board. There is a curious proviso, however. Mr. Murray has the right to terminate his employment on thirty days' notice within the "trial period" of one year, in which case he would receive a full year's salary as "compensation;" and the CBC undertakes to pay the expenses of moving his home from Ottawa to Toronto. This looks like a pretty good deal for Mr. Murray. Dr. Frigon, assistant general manager, ceases to have charge of finance, personnel and other matters independently of the general manager. The new arrangement returns

full administrative authority to the general manager, subject to the board's general authority. But there remains the fundamental inconsistency, referred to by Mr. R. B. Tolbridge in his article in this issue, of leaving the direction of programs and station relations in the hands of a man whose ideas on public broadcasting are those which Mr. Murray now holds, as revealed in his evidence before the committee. Much will depend upon the degree to which Dr. Thomson uses his authority to see that the tenor of broadcasting, by both the CBC and private stations, is in accord with sound public policy, and the extent to which the board backs him up.

To John McCrae

Those who seek peace do not break faith with you
Who thought the torch you bore was purest gold;
But they can see beneath its tarnished hue
The pseudo metal's botched and crumbling mould,
Unworthy sconce for Truth's sore-troubled flame.
No less the honor yours, and naught of shame
That you, deceived, upheld a travesty
Of noble aims to end all future strife:
But Time has shown that only peace will keep
Faith with the hopes you had . . . that war mocks
life
And heaps dishonor on your honesty,
And makes it doubly sure you shall not sleep.

RITA ADAMS

I Saw One Walking

I saw one walking out tonight
Across the mudflats of exhausted day,
Terrible, simple, resolutely aimless.
And with each quiet step the earth dwindled
And all we who turned here and there upon it
Dwindled like cinders as he made his way
Up the slow slope of evening.

Now, in proportion once again,
We eye the casual dark
Crafty and safe: "The stars are far to reach."
O yes, we mock,
But I shall see those steadfast shoulders always
That sought not even the hostelry of stars,
Turn where I may in dread of the wide air.

MARGARET AVISON

Concentration of Industry

MR. ROBERT F. CHISHOLM, director of the industrial division of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, recently said in a speech before the Canadian Purchasing Agents' Association that the board is planning concentration of production facilities, whereby one factory would take over all civilian production in a particular line or industry and other factories in that industry would be closed, or converted to arms production.

"The administrators are trying desperately hard to prepare advance plans which we can give by way of recommendation to national selective service, before selective service has to step in arbitrarily." There will be "power restrictions, material restrictions, production restrictions and drastic standardization of products and orders prepared by the industries themselves, curtailing or eliminating non-essential products or services."

Reading of that hectic activity in this, the fourth year of war, one might forget, in admiration of the industrial division's perspicacity, what the problem is. What is the problem? It is to get manpower for the war industries. To get that manpower is the task of selective service. And the industrial division is planning lest selective service gets in first.

Among the methods Mr. Chisholm enumerated was "restriction of production." Such restriction includes everything; it sets workers free. "Obviously, if manpower is required, then it makes sense for industry to do its own planning," said Mr. Chisholm. And selective service, the state, and the nation get what industry leaves.

Selective service must needs go by the age groups of the workers to be withdrawn from civilian industries, or by the regional requirements for war workers. That is its arbitrariness. It is a necessary arbitrariness. Industry wants to eliminate it by "planning." Either industry has a different purpose in its planning from that which selective service has—in which case it is up to the government to decide on priority; or industry has the same purpose as selective service—in which case there is a duplication of agencies. It might be a good idea to begin concentration by concentrating the industrial division and giving selective service a clear field.

But there is no secret. We know what industry is planning. Said Mr. Chisholm: "Compensation of curtailed industries is one of the problems which will have to be faced. All that can be said as to the board's policy on that subject at the moment, is that compensation is being examined in terms of

pooling profits of the continuing plants in an industry, so as to make available to restricted plants some share of funds so as to keep them in some sort of shape so they may reopen after this war is over."

If a man joins the forces he receives compensation by way of his pay and of family allowances. He does not receive compensation to be kept in shape. He may not be in any shape at all though he may be alive when the war is over. Likewise, a man or woman whose business is closed down under concentration can obtain compensation by going to work in the war industry. A country at war does not owe more than that to anyone. Or do we believe it normal that a man lose his life, and abnormal that he lose his business in war? Is that the platform of our democracy?

There is another point at which, apart from the moral aspect, the problem of compensation touches on the roots of our entire social and economic structure. It is a sad reflection on that structure that the government declares compensation to be a problem that has to be faced, and at the same time makes it known through Mr. Gordon that "we shall profit from the United Kingdom's experience in this connection, which means that we will shy away from proposals involving government compensation schemes."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Gordon has also profited from the other aspects of the United Kingdom's experience—namely those aspects which make it clear that the whole concentration policy of that country has been an abject failure (to say nothing of its uglier accompaniments). It has been a failure in that it has provided no more than five percent of all the manpower which has been released by the civilian industries; actually the real figure is considerably smaller, since the nominal figure includes many workers who would have had to be released in any case under measures other than concentration.

It is obvious that compensation out of public funds is feared to be a step towards socialism.

A business that closes down under concentration has a negligible chance to open up again after the war. It will most likely lose its capital. Those who continue to work, on the other hand, will accumulate invaluable knowledge of new processes of production, aided by the concentration of production in their hands, and of the shifts in the market which the war naturally brings about. Many of these shifts may be permanent. The position of the continuing firms will, after the war, be that of perfect monopoly. It is absurd to assume that the bulk of medium and small-sized firms, now to be laid still, could then compete.

Now, a loss of capital, no matter to whom the

capital belongs, is a loss to the nation; and the fact that we allow our national capital to be owned and administered by private individuals and corporations raises problems of the gravest concern in connection with the concentration policy. It is of paramount importance to control and check the loss of capital which is inevitable in war. It is unintelligent to make private firms which are closed down and are under the threat of monopoly, the guardians of part of the national capital; quite apart from the fact that a closed factory, in these conditions, is not capital but a scrap heap. It is outrageous to make private individuals and corporations who continue in business the guardians of another part of the national capital, and moreover endow them with monopoly; Excess Profits Tax, though it temporarily curtails profits, does not impair earning capacity nor the monopoly position.

To close down or to continue to work under concentration is not a hazard of business but a necessity of state. Therefore the state must undertake the maintenance of the physical capital in the factories which are laid still, and it must run the factories which continue to produce. This is a necessity and a responsibility which even the democratic-capitalist state can evade only at its own peril.

The state management of the producing factories must be carried out by boards which, in each industry, consist of men from closed-down factories as well as from the functioning factories themselves. The apparatus will be simpler than that described by Mr. Chisholm. It will not confine the knowledge of new production developments and of market changes to monopolies.

This is not all. Unless we evolve a more dignified economy in which the administration of the nation's capital is not left to the accidents and abuses of private ownership, the state must take cognisance of the fact that the capital of the factories to be closed down under concentration is part of the national capital; a part, moreover, that is threatened with extinction. Therefore, not in order to help certain private individuals, but in order to save national capital and to protect the nation from complete monopoly, the state must after the war provide the closed-down firms with working capital by loans and subsidies and must continue the control of raw materials until some sort of balance is reestablished.

We are far from believing that this is all that could or should be done. But it is the minimum of that which must be done in order to make certain that this country does not become, to a much higher degree than already before the war, the private business of a few. The rest will be taken care of by the political and social struggles of the future.

O Canada

It would seem that victory for the United Nations is still a long way off, which is all the better for postwar planning.

(From an editorial in the *Financial Post*, Sept. 19, 1942.)

"Peace will never be safe again, except in the hands of the laboring people and of the great mass of organized society," declared Premier Hepburn, who said he had been doing "a great deal of reasoning of late" and was convinced that "this present war was brought about by the influence of international, financial, industrial and commercial cartels which made the League of Nations impotent."

(The *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 6, 1942.)

Educators in this and other free countries must emphasize the importance of teaching loyalty to the democratic ideals, rather than a continued insistence on personal freedom and "equality of opportunity."

(I. L. Kandel in *The Educational Record of the Province of Quebec*, Vol. LVIII, No. 3, July-September, 1942 [Montreal, P.Q.])

"This committee is a monkey-house and the chairman is the chief baboon," cried Alderman Carrie, after one particularly disorderly passage. Chairman Alderman MacGregor instantly demanded to know why Alderman Carrie had called him a "chief baboon." Alderman Carrie admitted his mistake. He had not meant to refer to Alderman MacGregor as a "chief baboon," he said. He had meant Controller Duncan. "You are a lot of loud-voiced men and you have a frail woman before you," said Controller Duncan at another juncture. His voice was drowned out in the storm that followed.

(From report of a meeting of Toronto's Civic Committee on Public Welfare in *The Globe and Mail*.)

"Thru the medium of our services, serene and rich in beauty, yet simple and expressive, we have tried to relieve the family of all burdens and cares. With a thought to the future as well as the past, we dedicate ourselves toward complete satisfaction in funeral direction."

(From advertisement in *Toronto newspaper*.)

J. P. Bickell, president of McIntyre Porcupine Gold Mines, presented a resolution that "gold and the gold mining industry of Canada are essential." His resolution was passed. . . . He said the Government needs wealth to prosecute the war. "We either buy war bonds with wealth or we buy them with confetti," he said. "If we throw gold mining over board, we may find we've won the war and lost the peace."

(From report of meeting in *The Globe and Mail*, Oct. 16, 1942.)

This month's prize of six months subscription goes to C. McCabe, Montreal, P.Q. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

A Cabinet Minister on Post War "Reconstruction"

Martin Dell

THIS WAR WAS not due to some defects in our social order."

The statement was made at the opening session of the Special Committee on Reconstruction and Reestablishment of the House of Commons at Ottawa. It was made by the Hon. Ian Mackenzie, minister of pensions and national health.

To do full justice to the statement it must be put in its context. The context is part of a long speech in which Mr. Mackenzie, according to the minutes of proceedings, "gave a comprehensive account of the work accomplished by the Committee on Demobilization and Reestablishment." The speech contained more than that, however. It contained the framework of the social and economic philosophy within which the minister, who is responsible for that part of our governmental effort, intends to proceed. The minutes also said that "the minister will be prepared to answer questions relating to his statement at the next meeting." No questions were asked at the next meeting.

But there are questions to be asked. It shall be done here.

After the sentence quoted at the beginning of this article, the minister continued: "It would not have mattered whether our economy was completely ideal; the aggressor nations were covetous of what they regarded as the wealth of their neighbors; so that our enemies have attacked countries irrespective of the stage of their social or economic progress." What a scathing comment on the intelligence of our enemies! For they must be stupid indeed who covet the "wealth" of millions of unemployed. Mr. Mackenzie admits that our social order contains "some defects," and that our economy is not *completely* ideal. But in his opinion it is ideal enough to make the defects inconsequential.

The truth is, of course, that though our enemies are vile, they are not stupid. They do not covet the wealth we have; they covet the wealth we could have if our ministers, and many others, were not so complacent as to believe that there are only small defects in our social order. We know how despicable the social order of our enemies is. But there are other social orders than ours and theirs. What we need, to start with, is a committee, not on *reconstruction*, but on *construction*.

It is not quite clear whether, in speaking of "our" social order, Mr. Mackenzie meant the Canadian social order or that of most of the United Nations—that which we at present call the democratic social order. However, since he spoke of other countries which have been attacked by our enemies, it may be assumed that he had not merely Canada in mind.

Every ounce of nickel in Hitler's armaments came from Canada. Nearly every ounce of the millions of tons of manganese in Hitler's armaments came from a sister dominion, the Union of South Africa; that which did not come from South Africa came from India. Every ounce of rubber he stored came from Malaya and the Netherlands empire. Nearly every gallon of oil he stored came from our allies, the United States and Mexico. Every ounce of tin he has came from Malaya and the Netherlands empire. A few weeks ago, Thurman Arnold said that war material shortages caused by monopolistic abuses will cost America and its allies hundreds of thousands of lives. Good business, all that; we would be the last to deny it. But—no grave defect in our social order? Of course, Mr. Mackenzie could not say that it is, for that would be admitting that "good business" in itself is a defect in the social order. And Mr. Mackenzie is not a St. Paul.

Many people—all of them conscious or unconscious "no-defectors"—rack their brains for a scheme by which Germany may be effectively held down after the war. It is strange that they have never thought of extending the system of navicerts into the post-war period. By navicerts we now control the imports of raw materials into neutral countries with a view to preventing the re-export of such materials to the enemy. Any economist could calculate without much trouble how much of each raw material that might go into armaments would be needed by Germany after the war for legitimate purposes. If we continued the system of navicerts there would be no need for the costly maintenance of international police forces or similar bodies. "Ah, yes," the "no-defectors" will say, "but you forget that nearly any industry can be converted into a war industry, and that . . ." Well, we know what they will say. We also know what they will not say. They will not say that

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their almost completely ideal economy could not exist without a peacetime war industry. But it is a fact.

Mr. Mackenzie had something to say on this point. He was quoting Prof. D. H. Macgregor of the University of Toronto, but since he did not give the reference, we cannot decide whether Mr. Mackenzie misunderstood Prof. Macgregor, or whether Prof. Macgregor misunderstood Keynes; for Prof. Macgregor, to all appearances, was expounding Keynes. The quotation was "We are still able to live pretty well, well enough to show that we could afford a good deal of strictly unprofitable employment in ordinary times and still live quite well. (Prof. Macgregor's use of the word 'unprofitable' is in the economic sense and refers to profits on the capital utilized.)"

Mr. Mackenzie's aside (the sentence in parentheses) requires special comment, as it touches upon an important point. He goes out of his way to explain the use of the word "unprofitable" clearly lest anyone believe that the making of armaments—to which the words "unprofitable employment" naturally apply—is unprofitable in any other but the economic sense. But Prof. Macgregor speaks of "ordinary times." And indeed the making of armaments is unprofitable in the economic sense at any time. It does not, as does, for instance, the making of machines, produce a source of wealth; and it does not, as do, for instance the making of food and clothing and the providing of education, contribute to raising the health and the average intelligence of a nation (although these are not things which a "no-defector" can consider as wealth, since if he did he would contradict himself).

It is quite true, however, that economically unprofitable and depressing to the standard of living as the making of armaments is, it spreads employment. If you should ask why we cannot in ordinary times spread employment by providing profitable goods and services, your question would only show that you do not appreciate the miracles our almost completely ideal economic system can work. Or is it perhaps not a miracle that by producing unprofitably that system can increase employment?

It was no accident that nations which kept large standing armies before 1914 were less severely hit by economic crises and depressions than those which had no standing armies. It was no accident, further, that Germany, after 1918, was more vulnerable to crises and depressions than many other countries; for the German Social Democrats were too cowardly and too ignorant to adapt an industry that was geared to the requirements of a large peacetime army to the needs of a country without a great army. Lastly, it was no accident

that Hitler was able to eliminate unemployment as quickly as he did. He did not have to build an armament industry; he merely had to man the plant that was there. His economic heritage was not "almost ideal," it was completely ideal: he had what Mr. Mackenzie is looking for—the means to give unprofitable employment on a large scale. This is, of course, not to say that Mr. Mackenzie is a fascist; it is merely to say that he does not know what fascism looks like. And that is dangerous too.

However, he was quoting from Prof. D. H. Macgregor. And Prof. Macgregor was expounding Keynes. Let us, therefore, continue the Mackenzie-Macgregor quotation, and then compare it with Keynes: "There are always many industries whose material products are much less important to the nation, in terms of real contribution to welfare and development, than the work they create . . . The reflection of war on this question is, that it shows how great is the margin of material things on which we could always afford to encroach in order to have the immaterial but none the less important advantage of good employment."

The last sentence, if it means anything at all, may mean that in war we can replace unprofitable non-war employment by unprofitable war employment without doing great harm to our economic system as it is. If that is the meaning, we agree. But Mr. Mackenzie apparently has taken a different meaning from the sentence, which he is quite entitled to do as it stands. He apparently draws from it the meaning that we must continue to have unprofitable non-war employment in peacetime, so that in a future war we may have a margin on which to encroach by replacing that unprofitable non-war employment by unprofitable war employment without too greatly dislocating our almost completely ideal economic system. Does he not know that in peacetime unprofitable employment of any kind is merely the reverse side of a picture whose obverse is protracted large-scale unemployment? But it is probably too much to hope that "idealists," even if they knew the fact, would be deterred by it from "planning" the future in their own way.

Now let us relate this to Keynes. Keynes uses a type of unprofitable employment other than armaments. If it is unprofitable to make armaments, it is equally unprofitable to dig deep holes in rocks, take some metal out of the holes, and transfer it to other holes which we have built at great expense and call vaults. Of course, in our economic system as it is, there is, in view of our social system as it is, relatively more sanity in digging holes than in making armaments which are bound to go off sooner or later.

Keynes says: "Gold mining is . . . a highly practical form of investment, if we are precluded from increasing employment by means which at the same time increase our stock of useful wealth."¹

The words which we have italicized mean—to translate them into the Mackenzie-Macgregor terminology—"If we are precluded from increasing profitable employment whose products would be a real contribution to welfare and development." Of course, we are precluded. And Mr. Mackenzie is earnestly seeking for means to perpetuate that preclusion. His instrument is the special committee. He is not a St. Paul, and the committee is not the church of a new moral order. And the "early Christians" on the committee? No Book of the Apostles will tell of them.

It is well to make the "gold point" quite clear. Gold mining, like the making of armaments, is profitable (very much so) to certain individuals; but it is so only because it is socially unprofitable. The moment an entire economy becomes socially profitable to the extent that every person able to work is needed to increase the stock of useful wealth—the moment, in other words, when it is no longer necessary to provide unprofitable work in order to spread employment—from that moment on it will no longer serve any purpose to carry on gold mining or the making of armaments. Thus a sane economy will remove the *economic* incentive to pile up social dynamite in the internal and international sense.

Here something further should be said of this aspect of the relation between Mr. Mackenzie, Prof. Macgregor and Keynes.

Mr. Mackenzie is, and Prof. Macgregor seems to be, postulating that we should provide unprofitable work in order to spread employment. But Keynes, the first economist to prove that full employment can be achieved in our economic system as it is only if we employ large numbers of people unprofitably, postulates something quite different. He postulates that the "capitalist" economy be radically altered without, however, becoming anything but capitalist. Theoretically, this is possible. Practically, for psychological reasons, it is impossible. Keynes says: "We might aim in practice . . . at a scheme . . . which allows the intelligence and determination and executive skill of the financier, the entrepreneur *et hoc genus omne* (who are certainly so fond of their craft that their labor could be obtained much cheaper than at present) to be harnessed to the service of the community on reasonable terms of reward."¹

¹ The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, p. 130

¹ Op. cit., p. 376

The sentence in its entirety shows what must be done, among other things, in order to change our present economic system into an ideal capitalist system. But the ironical parentheses suggest that Keynes himself hardly believes that the psychological obstacles in the path of the change can be overcome.

The main difference, then, is that Keynes wants to deal with *unemployment*, whereas Mr. Mackenzie is content to deal with the *unemployed*, taking it for granted that unemployment there must be. Keynes is looking for the scarlet fever germ, while Mr. Mackenzie puts an ice bag on the patient's head and hopes for the best.

Keynes' theory was published early in 1936. Those who read it then and looked around to see what impression it had made on the statesmen of the world saw that only one of them had understood it and instantly acted accordingly: Dr. Schacht. That is why it is so often and quite wrongly said that Keynes' theory is fascist. Schacht borrowed from the theory only that which Mr. Mackenzie, too, is willing to borrow: its analysis. He did not adopt its proposed remedies. But what Dr. Schacht saw—that providing unprofitable work on a large scale makes an entire economy unprofitable and sows the seeds of social catastrophe—Mr. Mackenzie fails to see.

When Dr. Schacht acted upon Keynes' analysis he well knew that his action could be successful only for a short space of time but he also knew that his country would go to war, and that the large-scale provision of economically unprofitable armaments work would eliminate unemployment and economically-conditioned social unrest, at least until Germany was ready for war. But, looking at it from the broader viewpoint, this was only a question of degree. The Nazi rearmament so undermined the German economy that even if Hitler had not been bent on war he would have had to make war. In the same way, any country that provides unprofitable work in order to maintain the capitalist system as it is will sooner or later be faced with social catastrophe—a catastrophe that will always bring the temptation to look to war as the way out.

If this is not enough to convince Mr. Mackenzie of the absurdity of his contention that this war was not due to defects in our social order (a contention which makes a hopeless basis for the discussion of "reconstruction"), there is another argument: the analysis of the relation between the internal and international aspects of post-war construction.

Immediately after the quotation from Prof. Macgregor, Mr. Mackenzie said, regarding that relation: "These ideas are being discussed on every

hand, but when one comes to relate them to the problem of the Canadian economy one is again confronted by a social and economic structure very vulnerable to world forces . . . We have a heavy stake in the world order, and the reorganization of international trade."

Imagine what would happen if all those responsible for the direction of world forces were to start by declaring that there is not much wrong with our social order. Fortunately, not all of them do.

As for international trade, Keynes says: "If nations can learn to provide themselves with full employment by their domestic policy (and, we must add, if they can also attain equilibrium in the trend of their population), there need be no important economic forces calculated to set the interest of one country against that of its neighbors." Also: "There would still be room for the international division of labor and for international lending in appropriate conditions . . . International trade would cease to be what it is, namely, a desperate expedient to maintain employment at home by forcing sales on foreign markets and restricting purchases, which, if successful, will merely shift the problem of unemployment to the neighbor which is worsted in the struggle; but [would become] a willing and unimpeded exchange of goods and services in conditions of mutual advantage."¹

Surely the obvious could not be said more clearly. There can be no international order unless each nation first puts its own house in order. Victory in the war will enable us to put Germany's house in order, or to permit her own people to do so. But while Germany is naturally an important link in the chain of international order, it is only one link.

Shall we go to the armistice or peace conference begging that some business may be allowed to come our way? Or shall we go there as a people that has put its own house in order and demands by virtue of that fact that all others do the same? It is an alarming thought that our representative on the committee of the conference which will deal with these problems may be the Hon. Ian Mackenzie.

Keynes, who so brilliantly pronounces upon many things economic and political, has something to say, too, about the Mackenzie type. "In the field of economic and political philosophy there are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are twenty-five or thirty years of age, so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest. But, soon or late, it is ideas, not

vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil."¹

"Nations can learn," as they have been learning throughout history; for nations are composed of people. Vested interests and their conscious and unconscious handymen have always tried to be the teachers, but always the teachers have been taught a lesson.

Private Radio Gangs Up

R. B. Tolbridge

EVIDENCE before the parliamentary committee on radio not only showed a spirit of appeasement in CBC governors and officials toward private broadcasting interests. It also revealed how bold these interests have grown in their attempts to exploit this attitude.

Here let us recall the warning given by the late Alan Plaunt in his letter of resignation from the board in August, 1940. Referring to conferences held that summer by the news committee of the corporation with the private broadcasters and associated interests, Mr. Plaunt wrote:

These interests showed themselves unwilling to make any concessions whatever to further the board's basic purpose. What I regret is that the news committee, and the board at its recent meeting, well-nigh lost sight of the original purpose in its desire to meet the selfish views of the private stations . . . The attitude of the representatives of the above-mentioned private interests . . . was a mixture of arrogance and studied contempt. It is a serious matter for an authority duly established by parliament to fulfil a certain national purpose to be treated in this way. I shall have the liveliest fears for the future of this institution if such a result is permitted to continue.

That these interests have progressed very far since then in advancing their "selfish views," the proceedings of the committee of 1942 plainly show.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters is a voluntary association of privately-owned broadcasting stations operating under a dominion charter granted January 27, 1926. Sixty-one of the 74 private stations in Canada belong to it, paying membership fees which in the main exceed the amounts they pay to the government for operating licenses. In its early days, the association was rather loosely-knit; but by February, 1941, it had reached an advanced stage of organization, and was prosperous enough to engage Mr. Glenn Bannerman, formerly advertising manager of the Hudson Motor Car Co., as full-time president and general manager at a substantial salary. He was naturally the one person from whom the committee might expect to get full information regarding the private stations, so he was called to give evidence.

¹Op. cit., p. 382

¹Op. cit., p. 383

Judging from his own account, Mr. Bannerman, who is a shrewd and experienced public relations executive, embarked on his work for the CAB in 1941 with considerable energy and enthusiasm. Rumors were afloat that the government might yield to parliamentary pressure and order an investigation into the state of the nation's radio. Mr. Bannerman at once set about having "discussions" with M.P.'s and others in which he voiced his "opinion" that it would be "inadvisable in war time" to have a general enquiry into radio. When it was suggested to Mr. Bannerman on the witness stand that he had really been lobbying on behalf of the private stations, he replied:

Let me make this clear, Mr. Chairman; in my own personal capacity as a citizen of Canada I discussed this with these people and perhaps being new in my position I did not realize there would be official implications made with respect to it, but so far as parliament holding a standing committee on radio or a special committee on radio to inquire into the affairs of the publicly owned corporation I have always very carefully not expressed any point of view as to whether or not they should, because that is none of our business. The discussion was on the basis of whether there should be a general inquiry into radio broadcasting.

This answer may not have amounted to "studied contempt" for the intelligence of the committee; but if not, it argued a degree of naiveté difficult to associate with a public relations expert.

However that may be, when it came to getting from Mr. Bannerman certain information about the private stations, the committee found him surprisingly (or conveniently) ignorant. He related a heart-rending story of how the private stations, who had unselfishly done all the "pioneering" in Canadian radio at great loss to themselves, had only recently begun to make ends meet, and of how that Big Bad Wolf, the CBC, had continually denied them a chance to recoup their losses by increasing their power, hooking up in networks, using phonograph records in place of "live" talent, or mentioning prices in their advertising programs, and had further plundered them by grabbing off the most profitable of the revenue-producing commercial broadcasts, while the private stations received no part of the set-owners' license fees. Notwithstanding all this, he said, the private stations were performing a real service to their communities by broadcasting "the best available entertainment, information and news, consistent with revenue . . . [and] making known through commercial sponsorship the goods and services which are available for the convenience and comfort of the citizens of any given community." (Mr. Bannerman did not say that many listeners are getting pretty sick of the manner in which some of

these "available" goods and services are being "made known" to them.)

However, when asked what proportion of their time the private stations devoted to non-commercial public service programs, and what proportion of their time was given over to recorded as against "live talent" programs, Mr. Bannerman could not say. He did not have the figures available. They would have to be gathered at some pains from individual members of the association. Asked what the private stations had done to encourage and develop local talent (one of their supposed duties), he became vague and extenuatory. It was difficult to find talent in a small community, and when one did, the CBC stole it from one without giving credit. He did read reports from two private stations listing non-advertising programs they had broadcast; but these turned out to be largely programs developed by local or other organizations or groups to which the station had given time, and government programs for which the station received payment. He could give no figures indicating what the private stations had spent on live talent. Mention of "two local pianists who have been featured over this station during the past seven years" prompted one committee member to wonder whether "keeping on the air a couple of pianists for seven years is developing local talent."

Nor was Mr. Bannerman any more enlightening when it came to the financial condition of the private stations. He was sure that "the average across Canada of about 15 percent of shrinkage of revenue from national advertising of the different stations would put them on the average in the red;" but he could not tell the committee what were the gross receipts of the private stations from advertising, or anything definite about their profits. To all queries about the finances of the private stations, Mr. Bannerman thought it sufficient to reply: "I am the president and general manager of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, not of the individual stations; I do not have that information."

It became clear that what Mr. Bannerman had come before the committee to do was to picture the private stations as the battered victims of a system which placed the CBC in unjust authority over them. He carefully avoided any admissions that, in fact, many of the private stations are in a highly prosperous condition, and are very little (far too little) hampered by the CBC in their pursuit of profit through advertiser-sponsored programs, many of which are thoroughly vapid when they are not actually offensive.

It was to be expected that the references made by Mr. Thorson and Mr. Gladstone Murray to the

CBC and the private stations as "competitors" would not be missed by the representative of the private stations. For all his seeming ingenuousness, Mr. Bannerman was quick to seize on this point. It provided him, indeed, with a perfect introduction to the proposal for which his whole brief was a build-up.

After paying tribute to the "courtesy and attentiveness" with which the CAB had always been received by the Board of Governors, and reading Mr. Thorson's remarkable statement quoted in a previous article, Mr. Bannerman went on:

This is the first occasion so far as can be recalled that the position of the privately-owned stations has been clearly placed by a responsible person as that of a competitor of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Under these circumstances the Broadcasting Act of 1936 places the competitor (the CBC) in the position of making the rules and regulating its competition. This situation must be as embarrassing to the CBC as it is a sore point to the privately-owned stations and commercial sponsors. No matter how necessary or worth while a regulation may be, under this present condition, if it reduces the commercial value of the privately-owned stations, there is a tendency to wonder if maybe the regulation has been made so that more commercial revenue will flow to the CBC. This situation is comparable to the condition that would exist if the board of directors of the Canadian National Railway made the rules and regulated the provisions under which the Canadian Pacific Railway must operate.

(It is scarcely necessary to point out that there is no parallel, simply because the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific Railways are, in fact, competitors, and the CBC and the private stations are not. But Mr. Thorson and Mr. Murray had handed Mr. Bannerman the supposed parallel on a golden platter, making his deductions therefrom appear quite logical.)

It must have been with a sort of incredulous wonder to see how far this paid lobbyist, propagandist and "fixer" for the private stations would go in open meeting that Mr. Coldwell asked him if he had any suggestion for regulation "other than what we now have." Perhaps Mr. Bannerman was a bit startled himself, mistaking the motive behind the question. At any rate, here is his reply:

Well, it is a thing, Mr. Chairman, that I think would require very careful study. I have my own ideas. In my innocence and lack of complete knowledge of parliamentary procedure and government organization it seems to me it might be possible to place the regulating and disciplining functions over all broadcasting stations, licensed stations, in the hands of a commission such as the Railway Board of Commissioners to whom the individual stations could appeal from rulings they make.

It was at this point that Mr. Coldwell sought for information about Mr. Bannerman's lobbying activities in 1941. But whether emboldened by his own "innocence," or disarmed by the committee's

ambiguous reception of his proposal, Mr. Bannerman parried these questions and, not content with having suggested a complete repudiation of the principle of the Broadcasting Act and its revision in the interests of privately-owned radio, went on to demand measures which would in the meantime undermine the position of the CBC. Control of the telegraph lines linking up the stations, he contended, "virtually gives the CBC a complete monopoly over all live talent broadcasts except individual station broadcasts." The CAB urged

that this committee recommend that two or more private stations be permitted to link up for specific programs without hindrance, and that the line charges in the case of sustaining, non-profit programs be not more than the actual CBC cost thereof, in the case of commercial programs CBC cost plus a reasonable supervision fee not exceeding 25 percent.

Moreover, he said,

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters is of the opinion that the CBC policy of freezing any increase in power for the private stations to 1,000 watts in the face of the Havana treaty is rapidly placing Canadian broadcasting, so far as power is concerned, in a very secondary position.

(Mr. Plaunt's letter of resignation in 1940 stated:

The desire of certain private broadcasters . . . is to bring about the establishment of a private network, which would compete directly with the national network and which would, they doubtless hope, ultimately undermine it. Even though such a proposition runs demonstrably counter to the national interest, I suggest that the danger from these quarters is still very considerable.

As for restricting private stations to 1,000 watts, that is not primarily a "CBC policy," but a provision of the Canadian Broadcasting Act, which designates as the function of private stations a purely local low-power service.)

Need further evidence be adduced to prove that the aim of organized private radio in Canada is to destroy the whole basis upon which the public control of broadcasting has been set up, in order that the public domain of the air may be further opened to a quest for profits by one class of commercial interest supported by another?

That this drive has found deliberate or unwitting supporters at the very centre of the public radio control, as the evidence shows, should occasion the gravest concern amongst all who wish to see this powerful medium of communication brought to its fullest possible development in the interests of the people of Canada.

Such development is not only unlikely, it is virtually impossible, if private interests are permitted to encroach further on popular authority. For commercial radio, even when well-intentioned, cannot hope to free itself from the division of loy-

alties which prevents it from rendering disinterested public service.

The difference between publicly directed and commercial broadcasting is clearly defined by stating that one has an ethical purpose and the other has not. Commercial radio is maintained primarily by commercial advertising, and its very nature precludes commercial advertising from having such a purpose. Its end is pecuniary profit, and it will always take the easiest (that is, the most profitable) way of pursuing this end. It is not concerned in the least with raising popular taste or with giving people what is good for them, or even what people, when not habituated to the inferior, might themselves come to want. It is concerned solely with reaching the masses by appealing to the lowest common denominator of existing taste. The advertiser is seldom keen enough to see that the socially desirable can be invested with more interest for ordinary people than the meretricious, and hence might ultimately be the more profitable for him. Still, even if he were, he would hesitate to undertake the job, for it is an extremely difficult one. It is so much easier to "give the people what they want." And the pathetic, good-natured readiness of plain people to "make allowances" for their entertainers, their eagerness to persuade themselves that they are really "having a good time," make it possible for commercial interests to continue palming off the shoddiest kind of stuff without rousing the mass audience to revolt. The hungry sheep look up and are not fed—except with the husks they have been led to think are nourishing. For the same reasons, the much-vaunted "surveys" which purport to indicate public reaction to radio are next to worthless.

But a public authority is, or should be, concerned with giving people something better. Palates desensitized by husks must, of course, be re-activated. This is not, however, primarily a matter of balancing the "entertaining" and the "educational," the "vulgar" and the "highbrow." The way to arouse a favorable response in ordinary people to genuinely nourishing fare is to make it not merely (in Mr. Gladstone Murray's revealing phrase) "palatable," but stimulating in a legitimate fashion; to adapt it to the capacities and needs of the humble listener, so that he may be led by imperceptible means to prefer it to the insipid or degrading.

This, let us repeat, is an extremely difficult job. But it is a job which it is the primary duty of the CBC to tackle. It extends to music, drama, information and discussion—the whole gamut of broadcasting. The biggest task waiting to be performed today by any agency of public communication—whether it be the school, the church, the press or

the radio—is the expert "popularization" of facts, ideas and art.

If revenue must be sought from advertisers, there is only one way to safeguard the public against consequent misuse of the airwaves. That is to adopt the very sensible proposal made by Dr. J. S. Thomson, the new general manager, in a recent memorandum prepared for the CBC board, and remove the advertiser's control over the content of sponsored programs. Let the CBC and the private stations prepare worthwhile programs and invite sponsorship of them "as is"—placing further time restrictions on, and exercising strict censorship over, the "sales talk" portion of the program, and eliminating isolated "commercial spot" broadcasts altogether. If the private stations protest that, on their side, they cannot afford to undertake such a responsibility, then a much stricter supervision should be exercised by the CBC over sponsored programs accepted by these stations, to see that they measure up reasonably to the standards applicable to public service broadcasting. The CBC, at all events, could prepare the programs for sponsorship by Canadian advertisers on their own networks, and apply the same yardstick in accepting sponsored programs from the United States chains.

To carry out such a policy, the CBC's statutory control over private stations and their broadcasting must be not only continued but strengthened, whereas the private stations are seeking to weaken, or still better abolish, that control. Hence the insidious objective, which Mr. Bannerman was prodded into revealing before the committee, of a board which would supersede the CBC and "arbitrate" between it and the private stations.

It is more important than ever that the public should be aware of these destructive aims of the private stations and the threat to the public control of radio which they entail. For while he has been divested of authority over finances, and is ostensibly subordinate to a new general manager, the direction of broadcasting programs and of private station relations has been consolidated in the hands of Mr. Gladstone Murray through his appointment to the new post of director-general of broadcasting. And, as evidence quoted in these articles shows, Mr. Murray's views on broadcasting and his attitude toward the private stations seem to be more aligned with those of the private stations than with the conception of radio as a public undertaking embodied in the Canadian Broadcasting Act. Moreover, he is at present working under the same board which incurred the censure of the parliamentary committee for shirking its responsibilities, and some of whose members, as we have seen from the evidence, hold similarly dangerous views.

Democracy in Education

Isabel Thomas

IT IS ALWAYS easy to point out defects in human society or inadequacies in human nature and lay the blame on our educational system. Everything, from the outbreak of war and our initial reverses to our present difficulties in finance and production, can be blamed on the schools. In making such a criticism, however, we must remember that we cannot reasonably expect the schools to operate on a very much higher ethic than that which prevails in the community. But we are justified in asking that our schools turn out young men and women trained in habits of coöperation and capable of leading the democratic life.

Realizing the failure of the schools to do this, educationists, two years before the war introduced a new curriculum into eight of our nine provinces. This implied new methods. We were to have democratically controlled class-rooms, pupils were to learn "responsibility" by governing each other, and to "learn by doing;" they were to discipline themselves by becoming aware of the common good. For all this "activity program" additional equipment was required—machine-shops, wood-work shops, kitchens, sewing rooms, etc. And then came the war. Educational grants were curtailed. Technical education was not extended beyond the cities. Teachers tried to teach the new curriculum under great handicaps. Too often, when pupils were confronted with a choice they chose merely to make a poor effort. And critics of the new education have loved to make surveys showing that children trained under the new methods know much less grammar, spelling and arithmetic than pupils of twenty years ago. But in all the confusion of not knowing just how to get there teachers are at least becoming clear about where we want to go. We want to make independent human beings, trained in the daily exercise of free intelligence the coöperative activity.

To meet the immediate demands of war the department of education of Ontario has introduced a new course in defense training, health and physical education. This course is obligatory for all classes of high school boys and girls and requires as much as five periods a week in some grades. Military organization, knots and lashings, small-arms training, aircraft recognition, civilian protection (A.R.P.), map reading, fieldcraft, internal-combustion engines, signals, first aid, navigation, theory of flight, mental hygiene, health and safety

are the subjects of study. As no examination is required in this course there is an excellent opportunity for genuinely democratic education. The only drawback is that the teachers are extremely ill-prepared to teach the course.

On the whole, we get what we pay for. If we wish to offer an equal educational opportunity to every boy and girl in our schools we must spend more money on education. We need more money, partly for equipment, but chiefly for teachers' salaries. The value of any educational activity depends directly upon the calibre of the teacher; and the calibre of the teacher is determined chiefly by the salary. While there are many excellent teachers teaching for poor salaries there are many men and women holding teachers' positions who are quite unsuited to the profession. Better salaries would eliminate these less desirable members. Last year in Canada 13,000 teachers received less than \$10 a week and 19,000 received less than \$12.50, the minimum wage for industrial workers.

Increasingly we see that, whatever the B.N.A. Act says, education is a national responsibility and while few students of the Canadian scene advocate that education should be taken out of the hands of the province everyone can see that in some way federal money must be made available for education. The basic fact is that three of our provinces, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick do not have enough taxable wealth to provide adequate schools. The wide divergence of educational opportunity in the different provinces may be seen in the fact that two years ago the sum spent for elementary education in Toronto, per pupil per year, was \$100, in Calgary, \$90, in Winnipeg, \$88, the average for all New Brunswick, \$30, and one county in Prince Edward Island, only \$15.60.

A great step forward has been taken this year by the passing of Bill 64 which provides federal grants to be given after the war, dollar for dollar to the provinces for vocational education. There are still, however, some who oppose any kind of federal aid to education because they fear that federal grants will bring federal control. But the danger of educating boys and girls to a mere provincial, instead of a national, loyalty, is obvious. In the United States, where education is, as in Canada, the responsibility of the smaller unit, the senate has given two readings to a bill providing

\$300,000,000 federal grants to be given on the basis of need to the poorer states.

Another pressing reform in educational finance is that the burden must be shifted from the municipality. In Ontario the local municipality pays 87% of the cost of education. This means that an impoverished community can offer a very much poorer opportunity than a wealthy one. Well-to-do parents move into the communities which have good schools, and poorer families with many children gravitate to communities which are already hardly able to pay their educational costs. At the very time when educationists in England are abolishing their socially stratified system we are building one in Canada.

Numerous remedies suggest themselves. The province should assume at least 50% of the cost of education. The tax for education should be placed on something broader than real estate. Money could be spent more economically if rural school boards administered some fifty schools instead of one. For instance, one school board of a larger unit of administration placed an order for a whole carload of school desks and thereby saved enough money to engage a specially trained music teacher to go from school to school. This method of setting the educational house in order has been introduced widely in Alberta and Nova Scotia, and to a lesser degree in the other provinces. In Ontario there are now 164 larger administrative units taking in 860 school sections.

Provincial salary schedules would make possible a more equitable payment of women teachers. It is obviously unreasonable to give the same salary to a father of five children as is given to a spinster without dependents. On the other hand, there is no reason why just being male entitles a teacher to some four hundred dollars more. The only equitable arrangement is to give men and women equal pay for equal work and to give a father of a family an allowance for each child. There is no doubt that if we want democratic citizens to come out of our schools we must have teachers who themselves are secure, independent democratic citizens.

Everyone who knows our Canadian schools realizes that in many of them the democratic spirit functions as a basis for daily life as effectively as in any institution in the world. But many schools or classrooms are still dominated by petty Hitlers. And it must be confessed that much in the organization of the profession cannot be described as democratic. The regulations of the department of education come as fiats from above, to be obeyed with fear. Little attempt is made to suggest that these are laws democratically devised and executed. Never in Ontario, except to the Superannuation

Commission, are teachers asked to elect representatives to departmental committees. In Alberta, apparently, the department of education makes a bona fide attempt to rule democratically. Last year elected representatives of the Teachers' Federation comprised a significant part even of the committee which controlled the certification of new teachers. Perhaps the setting up of numerous advisory committees, part of which at least would be elected, might cause the teachers to feel that departmental regulations were in some sense *their* regulations.

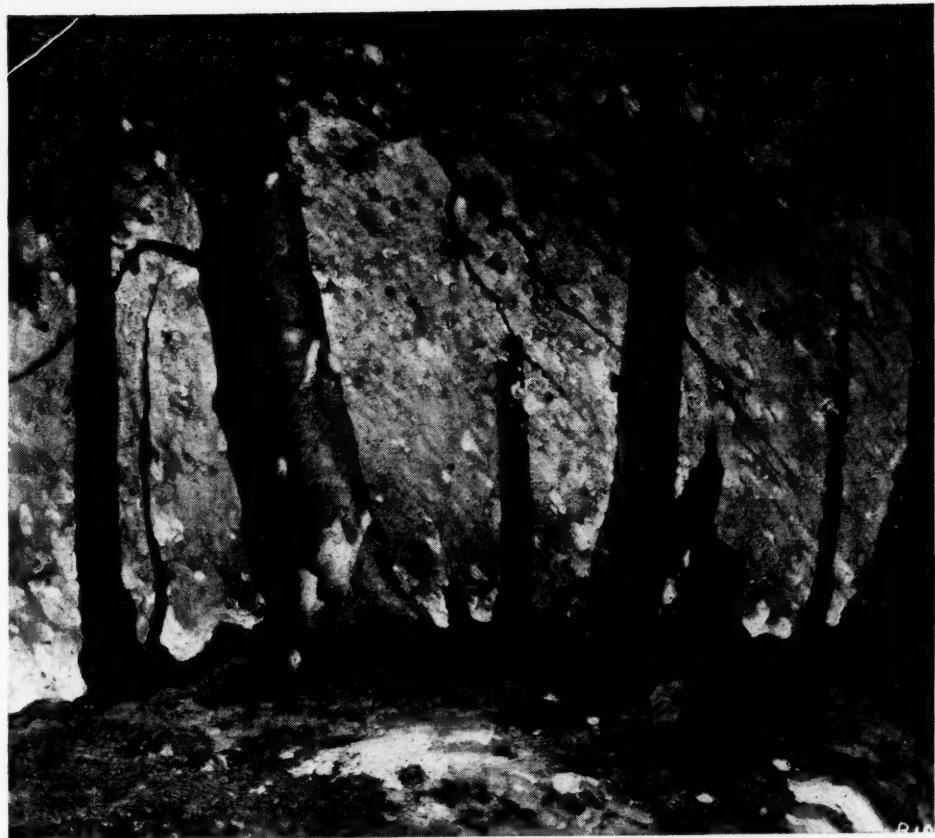
In Ontario, one reason why it is difficult to have representatives elected by teachers is that there are three federations as well as the Ontario Educational Association. There should be one federation and all teachers should belong to it. In four of the Canadian provinces, British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and New Brunswick, there is automatic membership; that is, every teacher who holds a position is automatically a member of the federation unless he signs himself out.

One of the difficulties of the profession is that it does not provide a career for talents. Actually, for most teachers, indeed for all women, there is almost no chance of promotion after the age of 35. The result is that they concentrate their efforts on their own job and give little attention to the problems of the larger organization of education. Anything which encourages teachers to consider the relation of the schools to the community will improve our democratic life.

The relation of our schools to our political institutions needs reconsidering. Session after session of our provincial legislatures prorogues without having mentioned schools or education, and practically never does educational policy become an issue in a provincial election.

Great apathy is shown in the election of school trustees. It is very difficult in most communities to find public-minded citizens willing to undertake this thankless task, unless some politician on the way up decides to get his name before the public in this way. If enough candidates are nominated to warrant an election it is seldom that more than 15% of the eligible voters cast a ballot. The result is that boards of education are seldom the demo-

Above, "The Beech Woods" (collection of The Art Gallery of Toronto) by J. W. Beatty; below "Village Street" (Collection of R. S. McLaughlin) by Clarence Gagnon, shown recently in the Memorial Exhibition—Gagnon and Beatty—at the Art Gallery of Toronto. The Gagnon exhibition was organized by The Art Association of Montreal and was shown there before coming to Toronto.



eratic representatives of the community will, which they are theoretically supposed to be. Principals and teachers resent the authority of the board and the community pays little attention to the school. And all these conditions exist in exaggerated form in the communities where the school board is appointed, rather than elected.

Legislation is needed also with regard to security of tenure. Too many teachers lead haunted, timid lives, fearing dismissal for causes other than poor professional work. Ontario has a Board of Reference Act which provides that a board of reference will be called to investigate the dismissal of any teacher, but the board is called only at the discretion of the minister of education and the recommendations of the board are not obligatory on either teacher or trustees. The Act has proved to be a somewhat inadequate defense.

Many teachers would like to see the dickering for salary taken out of the hands of the individual teacher and placed in the hands of authorized federation agents, either a full-time, paid secretary, or a committee. In other words, they would like collective bargaining for teachers—Wagner Act and all. Something approximating this does exist in Alberta.

Several minor changes affecting only a limited number of teachers might well be made. There should be better facilities for the exchange of teachers from province to province and, within a city system, from school to school. School boards and teachers' federation should both do their part in guaranteeing to any teacher elected to parliament his security, his seniority and his pension. In the provinces the situation is such that a teacher who pitted himself politically against the administration might find himself in professional difficulty with the department of education. In Britain, teachers commonly sit on municipal councils but in Canada they are never even nominated, in spite of the fact that a teacher is really eligible to sit on a council in a municipality of which he is not an employee. Every Canadian teacher elected to parliament has been dismissed from his job.

When one considers the problem of re-absorbing into gainful employment the 2,000,000 people who are now in the service and munition plants one can see that any government which tackles the problem of full employment must extend its educational services.

Already federal money has been voted for vocational training in the schools. As the scheme develops pupils will be encouraged to stay at school possibly until aged 18, though probably the last two years may involve part-time school and part-time job of some kind. Educationists have always advocated such part-time schooling but they have

met little coöperation from business or industry. It is likely that large numbers of guidance officers will be appointed in our schools to advise students about their vocation and these guidance officers will work closely with the government unemployment officials.

During the period of demobilization there will be need for an extensive program of adult education. School buildings and leaders will be available if government money for salaries and equipment can be procured. At the other end of the educational scale is pre-school education. Once creches are established with government money it is unlikely that they will be disbanded. It is to be hoped that they will develop into government-supported nursery schools.

With the growing demand by the public for better health services it is likely that the present health service will be expanded. Libraries, also, may be more closely connected with the schools. Often, today, children trained in excellent reading habits go out into a community with very inadequate library service. In the city of Calgary branch libraries are located in the school buildings, and this may suggest a line of advance.

But probably the most important extension of educational service is the provision of secondary education for farm children. School buses and consolidated schools have played their part, but on the whole children of only well-to-do farmers go to high school. And university records reveal the fact that a much smaller percentage of university students come from the farm today than came a generation ago.

Somehow, also, money must be found for more scholarships. Two types are needed—maintenance scholarships to keep boys and girls in high school, and regular scholarships enabling them to proceed to higher education. Higher education is today too often the prerogative of the rich. The ideal thing would be that municipal, provincial and federal governments, instead of passing the buck, would each establish a number of scholarships.

Post-war years are likely to bring many changes and educationists should consider carefully what changes are desirable. The decade following the last war was one of the most progressive in educational history.

In a recent address in Vienna Baldur Von Schirach, the head of Nazi youth, boasted "that every young person in the youth organization of the Führer has an equal chance, regardless of the wealth and position of his parents, to advance according to his abilities." I am doubtful if this statement is true in Germany, but I am also certain that in Canada we do not yet offer every boy and girl an equal educational opportunity.

Break of Day

*The wind it was that woke him
Or maybe a broken bough
Flung slithering on the roof-tiles.
But he stirred, and heard it blow
Salt as a septic ocean
With a constancy in space
Like the shadow of mighty mountains.
The earth-smell swept his face
Damp with the sweat of vast hillsides
Prone to the wind's embrace—*

And then he heard the taps squawk
And the water flow.
The old man hocked and snorted.
Down in the street below
his window the clip of footsteps:
two women—a man—
scattered sharp sounds, fading,
and patterned distinct again—
Loose slats on a windy morning
under a brown sky—
The rattle of hail in the orchard—
Knuckles, long dry,
troubling the ear of the robin with
invisible thunder; and rain
battling against the pavement—
two women—a man.

Another round to play, again
With the same shabby hand
And the same chalky assurance
Of how the tricks are planned.
Four sides to a table
And four walls to a room
And a set of four-square virtues
To enhance the gloom.

Wind from the crags and the caverns of ocean
Pounding the afterwash of shore
Beat the pulp out of the daylight
And scatter the sets of four!

Down in the sand it is lonely
Between the lake and the trees.
I can piddle a rivulet
Among brown leaves
I can build a house for a king
With knobs on the doors and everything
And moats for the sandflies to flatten in
and streets and a tower and bells that ring . . .
I used to hear the Marybird
when the dark was around, and cedars smelled cool
among warm supper-smells, and the woodsmoke
rising . . .

And Mary would never know for sure
Whether me or the bird was calling her.

The little alarm-clock bounced
With a clamor of righteous sound
The kitchen door slammed shut
And the window yawned.

Bees at least make honey
And at least a bee
Knows his pointless labor
Appointed eternally.

Of old there were fathers of wisdom
And even the half-alert
Learned how men topped creation
In their power of being hurt.
But see how our intricate wisdom
Has tangled awry
Now all we can hear in common
Is the animal-cry—

A burst of steps up the stairs and hall
Mary flung in, and then stood—
“Mitzi is dead. I just found her.”
O God in hell what's the good!
*Out from the poles the harsh air twisted
Over the cities of men, binding them down.*
He floundered wearily out of bed.
“Mitzi was only a dog,” he said.

She left. He shaved. He pulled on clothes.
Pushed watch in pocket. Brushed his hair.
Examined his teeth. From the dresser chose
The pencil, the wallet, singling out fare
for the bus. Then suddenly sat
Only half-way on with his coat
Knowing the sickness between his shoulders
That swelled to sobs in his throat.
The old man shuffled in, and looked
“What is it son?” he said.
Here is an old man who doesn't care
I will make him hear the wind and share
the horror of day and the scabby fear.
He swallowed . . .
“Mitzi is dead.”

*Brute of a wind wide blowing . . .
The swordfish threadle the sea
Sands and snows and cities
Waken to day.*

MARGARET AVISON



Virginia Woolf

Robert Finch

BRILLIANT IS the jacket's word for Mr. Daiches. Happily his is a brilliance that illuminates more often than it dazzles, and no one still in doubt as to precisely what Virginia Woolf was driving at can remain so after Mr. Daiches' commentary*. In fact, that largish body of faithful but perplexed catchers-up on less recent advance-guard writing who are nervous about making tentative pronouncements with even modest success, will bless the entire New Directions' Makers of Modern Literature Series, of whose aim—concise and inexpensive guides to the great moderns by creative critics—the present volume (and second—the first, by Harry Levin, was on James Joyce) is an excellent example. Incidentally, that such Baedekers now constitute a practically indispensable passport to the foreign countries of advance-guard poetry and fiction is in itself a growing matter for reflection.

Mr. Daiches, while never writing down to the level of any particular reader, and while respecting the mystery of genius, implies no mystery where none is, thus making his personally conducted tour a delight for all, and they will be many who care to follow. Most of this numerous band are drawn to Virginia Woolf for one or more of four reasons: 1, because she was "an intellectual snob deliberately and without hypocrisy, as a means of communicating her belief in the importance of intelligence"; 2, because she was, according to Mr. T. S. Eliot, himself a member of her circle, "the centre, not merely of an esoteric group, but of the literary life of London," one whose "position was due to a concurrence of qualities and circumstances which never happened before, and which I do not think will ever happen again"; 3, because of her honest endeavor to discover personal answers to questions of universal interest; 4, because she still seems a pathfinder in the jungle of literary technique. Whatever the attraction, under the reassuring tutelage of Mr. Daiches one visits all the major and some minor monuments of Virginia Woolf's printed activity.

In examining the early novels, *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day*, and the experimental-transitional sketches of *Monday or Tuesday*, Mr. Daiches emphasizes the already apparent departure from the chronological event-series of traditionalist novels, especially as evidenced by the struggle between form and content. "Social events and

*VIRGINIA WOOLF: David Daiches; New Directions (Norfolk, Conn.); pp. 169; \$1.50 (U.S.A.).

situations that seem to come straight out of Jane Austen merge into moods and dimnesses that would have baffled Jane completely," for here "the Jane Austen attitude of mildly satiric observation is overwhelmed so regularly in a groping towards a profounder interpretation of the subtler and more evanescent aspects of human psychology."

Though issue might be taken with at least part of Mr. Daiches' statement that "Katherine Hilbery (heroine of *Night and Day*) is a stronger figure than any of Jane Austen's heroines, with a firmer grip on her own destiny and a much greater curiosity about life and her own relation to it," yet Katherine's remark to herself as she walks abstractedly along a London street: "It's life that matters, nothing but life—the process of discovering, the everlasting and perpetual process," could never have come from the lips of Emma Woodhouse without indeed, as Mr. Daiches puts it, "rending the fabric of the novel of which she is the heroine," because Katherine's idea of life is not that of a considerable body of her fellows, but that of her creatress, amongst whose many definitions of it none is more typical than: "Life is not a series of gig-lamps symmetrically arranged, but a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end."

Passages in the earlier works that might have come straight out of Jane Austen do not, therefore, "represent the real stuff of the novel, but are interludes merely, bridges connecting one attempt to present the semi-transparent envelope and the next." For Virginia Woolf was not content with what she called the "materialism" not only of Jane Austen but of traditionalist writers in general. To her it was a falling short, and in *The Common Reader*, after going so far as to wonder what Jane Austen might not have done had she "stayed in London, dined out, lunched out, met famous people, made new friends, read, travelled and carried back to the quiet country cottage a hoard of observations to feast upon at leisure," her conclusion is: "she would have devised a method, clear and composed as ever, but deeper and more suggestive, for conveying not only what people say, but what they leave unsaid; not only what they are, but what life is. She would have stood farther away from her characters, and seen them more as a group, less as individuals . . . she would have been the forerunner of Henry James and Proust . . ." And of Virginia Woolf, would add Mr. Daiches, who is admirably aware that no author has more effectively enunciated his own aims in terms of another's than Virginia Woolf herself.

To materialist traditionalism as she saw it Vir-

ginia Woolf preferred what she considered the spiritual modernism of Joyce, in an attempt to describe which, as Mr. Daiches points out, she again better described her own position from another angle—"concerned at all costs to reveal the flickerings of that innermost flame which flashes its message through the brain," in pursuit of greater, and, if possible, total reality. Now, while writers of Jane Austen's world were in tune with a concensus of opinion concerning what "reality" was, those of Virginia Woolf's world were not, and with the progressive realization that her art could flower against no background of community belief came new and fascinating problems for solution, chief of which was that of enabling all readers to tune in with her own private conception of "reality" which, she said, "would seem to be something very erratic, very undependable—now to be found in a dusty road, now in a scrap of newspaper in the street, now in a daffodil in the sun. It lights up a group in a room and stamps some casual saying . . . But whatever it touches, it fixes and makes permanent. That is what remains over when the skin of the day has been cast into the hedge; that is what is left of past time and of our loves and hates. Now the writer, as I think, has the chance to live more than other people in the presence of this reality. It is his business to find it and collect it and communicate it to the rest of us."

Such, in fact, is what she tried to do in the early works, almost succeeded in doing in *Mrs. Dalloway*, and did achieve in her masterpiece, *To The Lighthouse* (1927), that shimmering realization of her semi-transparent envelope idea of life. (One thinks irresistibly of a 1927 description of Monet's best work: *Rien n'est défini, tout est mobile, changeant à la minute de forme, de volume: un instantané ne donnerait pas grand'chose, mais seul un instantané fixerait un état de ce mirage qui se compose et se décompose sans cesse.*) For she had succeeded in working out the necessary style, characterized by "studied tenuousness of expression," with no attempt "to preserve the firm outlines of chronological events; experience is broken down into a series of rapidly dissolving impressions which merge into one another but which are kept from complete dissolution by the meditative eye of the author, who keeps the flux of things constantly in sight, and preserves her own character sufficiently to be able to comment intermittently on the intangible nature of her subject." It thus became possible to record each person as "the sum of his own impressions and those he makes on his fellows" (i.e., the sum of all such impressions considered significant enough to be recorded by the writer), and experience as a flux wherein "the lives of different men shade imperceptibly into each other."

Mr. Daiches sheds equal light on Virginia Woolf's method of developing a story written in the new style she had worked out for herself. He analyses her way of giving eccentricity a centre, either by making the reader "stand still in time and move from character to character," or "stand still in space, remaining with one character while moving up and down in time with his consciousness," or by the direct interpolation, not of the author, but of the author's personal point of view about life. Thus the experiences of all the characters in a book, plus those of their creator and those of the reader, interpenetrate and intervibrate until, at certain unpredictable points and non-contemporaneous moments, the entire mass is perceptible as a luminous haloed entity to one or more of its human units.

In *To the Lighthouse*, this "dissolution of experience into tenuous insights" reaches its ultimate perfecting, for "the relation of the individual to existence as a whole is treated in a variety of ways," (all succinctly isolated by Mr. Daiches, in what is, perhaps, the most brilliant part of his book), so as to suggest, rather than state, answers to the various questions radiating out from the principal one here: "What is the most significant quality in experience?" Mr. Daiches stops his chapter on this important period with the sentence: "In *To the Lighthouse* Virginia Woolf found a subject that enabled her to do full justice to her technique." He does not say, though he may mean to imply it, that herein is the key to her specific modernity—the finding of a subject that will do justice to a technique rather than the finding of a technique that will do justice to a subject. Virginia Woolf's technique was, moreover, complex, incorporating, as far as possible, other art techniques, which, as they brought her work nearer to other realms, took it farther from its own. For the closer one art approximates another the less power it has to convey those experiences which are *sui generis*, not to be defined or valued by anything outside, and Virginia Woolf's art imitates one highly special technique of no less than three other arts: poetry, painting (J.-E. Blanche wrote of her "Je la classerai avec les peintres, elle en est un, et des plus accomplis."), and music. Both the peculiar quality and the structural debility of her work are doubtless due to this fact. Her "poetry" (prose, to her, was a "lumbering and lagging art" compared with poetry) is of the kind that tries to convey several aspects of a situation simultaneously; her "painting" sacrifices all connecting transitions in order to increase the delicate sharp accents of those several aspects; while her "music" suffuses rather than accompanies them both with a chromatic glow.

Her art, approximating three others in their most delicate effect, simultaneity, makes of a part the whole. The balanced mixture of the best traditionalist prose-fiction is reduced to one ingredient (for when has the effect of simultaneity been wholly absent from that form of literature?) while this ingredient's effect is reinforced by synthetic references to its equivalent in the other arts. Such exaltation of one member over the rest, even in a body of art, however fastidious be the underlining, can only result in violence. Here, simultaneity in triplicate was the Procrustean host, life the imperilled guest.

After discussing the subsequent novels, *Orlando*, *The Waves*, *The Years* and, her last, *Between the Acts*, all of which are shown to be experimental developments or modifications of her original technique, (works less subtle than perchance they seem, and none in its kind paralleling the fluid integration of *To the Lighthouse*), the author deals with Virginia Woolf's critical essays, signalling their importance, as containing some of her best prose, and their style, "impressionist in a sense, but in the best sense." The two chief features of her political attitude are also outlined. First, that "all those who have talent should be given the opportunity to develop and use it, should be allowed to have an income and a room of their own." "But," Mr. Daiches continues, "of those who have neither income, nor room, nor talent, nothing is said," adding "and indeed what could be said?" What indeed, by one who all her talented life had known nothing but complete independence and a comfortable income? Second, that women, and as many men as will, must work toward the reduction of the present male domination of the world. The sneer at men in general, ironically and elusively imprisoned in many of Virginia Woolf's opalescent male characters, Mr. Daiches passes over in silence, and the book closes with a brief summing up, a completion of the short biography begun in the first chapter, a helpful bibliography, and an index.



U. S. Production Blitz

Samuel Levenson

HERE IN THE UNITED STATES many of the customary fall phenomena are still on exhibition. The St. Louis Cardinals nosed out the Brooklyn Bums for the championship of the National League, and then went on to overwhelm the erstwhile mighty Yankees in the World Series. (I hope this doesn't sound as incomprehensible to you as the reports of your ice hockey games sound to me.) The football season is getting under way, and so is the political campaign, equally characteristic of October. Of the two, the latter seems the less important. Popular interest in the elections is practically nil. All parties and all groups are solidly behind the war effort, and particularly so when it does not injure the interests of their membership. The attempt of various progressive groups to inject an ideological issue into the campaign by hammering at pre-Pearl Harbor isolationists is meeting with little or no success. The saddest election spot, considering the importance of the state, is New York where President Roosevelt, after making a feeble attempt to get the Democratic party to nominate a liberal as governor, has now thrown his support to a machine politician named Bennett. His opponent, gang-busting Dewey, is a Coolidge Republican, without ideals or ideas, and will win the race hands down. The American Labor Party of New York State showed enough independence and courage to run its own candidate, an unknown named Alfange, but his vote will be infinitesimal.

The most important events in the United States are of a different nature, and the American people know it. These events are concerned with the war, both on the home and military fronts. During the past six months the cost of living has taken a stiff rise, but the Congress failed to act. President Roosevelt was forced to take his plea for anti-inflation legislation to the people by means of a fireside chat. Congress immediately knuckled under, and there is now a chance that the rise in prices will be somewhat slowed. On the other hand, the new tax bill is one of the most vicious ever projected. The treasury suggested a bill which would leave the working people enough food and shelter to continue their arduous war work, and which would carry out in some feeble measure the president's promise that no one should profit from the war. The bill passed by Congress does neither. It is another one of those things which make liberals wonder whether or not they are alone in considering this a people's war.

Above and beyond all these matters, the dominant

feature of the American scene is our production blitz. American peacetime production of passenger cars, radios and electric refrigerators used to amaze the world. Yet the conveyor belts never ran full blast; they were always braked by lack of purchasing power. Today, with this limitation removed—the government is the only purchaser and its funds are unlimited—our industrial machine is turning out weapons of war in staggering numbers. The government is strictly censoring all production figures, but eye-witness accounts of those who have been to Detroit, Bridgeport and Hartford give ample proof that the American assembly line is still what it always was, the eighth and greatest wonder of the world. That Italian radio announcer who declared that it was impossible to build a 10,000-ton ship in 10 days should be invited to visit some of our factories and shipyards. He would find wonders equally great on every hand, but we doubt if the spectacle would be as heartening to him as it is to us.

Owing to this great volume of production, there are beginning to be shortages, particularly in scrap iron and rubber. A new scrap salvage campaign, and the appointment of a rubber czar, offer promise that these obstacles will be overcome. A more troublesome question concerns manpower; war industry, the draft and agriculture are now reaching out for the same people. The need here is for a constructive overall plan which would allocate men according to their usefulness to the war effort, but it is obvious that nothing will be done until after the elections. At that time it is also likely that boys of 18 and 19, and married men as well, will become eligible for the draft.

I wish it were possible to say that American ideology concerning the war was developing as fast as American production. The sad truth is that most people are still unaware of the existence of "a war of ideas." They are fighting Germany and Japan, not fascism or tyranny. The government and press are not helping matters any by encouraging indiscriminating hatred of the enemy; one of the great obstacles toward building a lasting peace in the post-war world will be the hatred of the "simian" Japs, who are now regarded with the same loathing as the Boches in the first world war. Such old-fashioned chauvinism will in no degree advance the greatest cause of all, the brotherhood of man.

So far as foreign affairs are concerned, it is both humorous and tragic that Wendell Willkie, a corporation lawyer and power magnate, a Republican ignorant of the very fundamentals of international politics, should be the first important American to demand in unmistakable terms the end of imperialism in Asia. He thereby takes precedence over

such great United Nations "liberals" as Sir Stafford Cripps, Walter Greenwood, Cordell Hull and President Roosevelt himself. The abolition by England and the United States of extraterritoriality in China is a step in the right direction but, for my money, it was more than offset by the recent debate in parliament on India. The average American was able to read only the skimpiest accounts of this debate in his local newspaper, which may explain, but does not excuse, his failure to get excited about it.

Now for scattered items. The first is the separation from the CIO of the Mine Workers Union led by John L. Lewis. Since the brotherhood of railroad workers continues to exist, and a new confederation of independent unions was established a few months ago, there are now no fewer than five major labor groups in this country. There would seem to be no great objection to this state of affairs so long as the unions concentrated on organizing the 30 plus millions of workers affiliated with no union whatsoever, but it is more likely that internecine strife, particularly after the war, will be the major result . . . Miss America of 1942 is a native of Texas; she weighs 118 pounds, is 5 feet 5 inches tall, and declares that she will not marry for the duration . . . the shortage of tea and coffee is getting serious, but for various reasons the government is loath to apply further rationing. However, fuel oil is being rationed this winter . . . The bill to abolish the poll tax in eight southern states is having tough sledding in Congress. It's all right for Negroes to fight for a democracy, but not to vote in one . . . We all have the greatest admiration for the defenders of Stalingrad, but some Americans are still unable to understand how people can fight so bravely for something which is not private enterprise, rugged individualism or the American way . . .



Fashion is a Frankenstein

Marguerite Wyke

WITH WAR RESTRICTIONS on excess material and superfluous trimmings in effect, women who are long on taste and short of money will now get some decent-looking clothes. The new clothes will be timeless classics designed for longer and all-occasion wear. All along, the designers have done us slim-purse people grave injustices. Because we had little money to spend, we were forced to haunt clearance sales of original models and to rummage through racks of monstrosities for cheap copies of higher-priced dresses. We finally bought reduced two-for-nine-dollar horrors because we had the nine dollars and—well, the body had to be covered.

This is a People's War in more ways than one. It is also a Women's War on the dictatorial dress industry which foisted frills and furbelows on us, and gave us clothes designed by people with their tongues in their cheeks—people who, ironically enough, were not oblivious to the beauty of streamlined furniture and modern architecture.

For years our favorite cure for insomnia was counting classics instead of sheep, though occasionally a baggy little number got over the stile. Wasn't it just as easy in peacetime to cut a slim straight skirt? Last year many of us longed to go into uniforms if only in protest against the draped derriere.

To us the quality of the material wasn't so important as the line and fit. We endured willingly rayons that buckled like an accordion when washed and melted away when ironed. The bulging, uneven seams, the imitation pockets, the front and behind bows, skimpy gathers, and imitation unpressed pleats that formerly characterized Canadian ready-mades are, thank God, on the way out.

We, the people, didn't even care about pinked seams or hand-sewn hems. Such extras are only bourgeois trappings anyway. Let the Clingers to Tradition pink their own seams and hand-roll the machine-stitched hems themselves, if they think such activity is more productive than the construction of an equitable post-war society. There was absolutely nothing one could do about a dress with epaulets or draped hips except wear the mistake once, then relegate it to the back of the closet, and, like the burnt biscuits at the bottom of the garbage tin, never mention it to one's hardworking husband.

Production for profit, once the guiding motive behind the unlimited supplies of those bastard dresses is gradually giving way to production for actual use. In the past we suffered silently in

those miserable garments not daring, except in a few isolated cases, to buck the huge dress industry. Now the war has forced that very industry to limit its production, conserve materials, and bestow simplicity upon us.

Pioneers like Elizabeth Hawes long have been voices screaming in the wilderness of profitable bad taste. All along we knew they were right but we were powerless to act on their suggestions. We did want neat little black dresses on which we could indulge our frivolous imaginations in frankly bad novelty jewelry that caught our eye for the moment and could be discarded when we wished. But we were given fancy black dresses with stomach pieces embellished with chunks of tarnishable junk that would have looked better on Christmas-trees. And we had to discard the whole thing, only to dream of the simple black dress priced at forty-nine-fifty. We wanted plain skirts because pleats crumple easily and cost more to dryclean. We wanted short sleeves because our practical work made balloon sleeves and frilled wristlets a nuisance. We wanted gracefully sloping, non-jutting shoulders, because so many of us, being tall, active women, did not wish to exaggerate our already well-developed arms and shoulders. We wanted unadorned bust-lines and necklines, not cowls, ruffled vestees, fussy jabots and artificial lapels.

Like the minority groups and the oppressed classes, it looks as if we, too, will get what we want. Not through the graciousness of the dress manufacturers, however, but because war has a way of forcing concessions where protests, pleading and propaganda have failed.

But bad taste, like capitalism, like chauvinism, is not yet dead. A perusal of the present fashion forecasts shows that the ugly monster has sat up and made one final effort to breathe before further wartime restrictions deliver the knockout blow. This winter we'll see a frantic attempt to force fashion down our throats. We'll see plenty of gee-gaws, gaudy buttons, imitation sequins (made of non-priority materials), plenty of curly cues on shoes, hats and dresses.

Why doesn't the dress industry simply give up the struggle to gild the working girl? Perhaps they know that as a war-worker she'll have more money than ever to spend. But it smacks of sadism to make her pay stiff prices for the kind of dresses she's always wanted, to watch her waste time poring over row after row of frocks which, while offering a slight concession to war regulations, continue to befuddle and dazzle her glamor-starved soul.

If the inflation-bogey rises up to threaten us, he'll be a frankenstein created partly by the dress

trade. Should that industry fail to fall completely in line with government orders, then we, the women who wear the dresses, must start a revolution to insure that a fifth freedom—Freedom from Fashion—be established in this land.

Bottlenecks in the Civil Service

D. L. Smithers

FTER THE WAR the government of Canada is likely to be a large body, with much more control over social and economic life than in the past. Under these circumstances the Canadian people should look for liveliness and efficiency; a liveliness and efficiency which, regrettably, have not always been evident in the civil service. As a result the permanent civil service is held in poor esteem by all too many in Canada—including great numbers of those who are temporary wartime servants of the government. This situation is unhealthy.

The crux of good administration is good personnel. The control of civil service personnel rests largely in the hands of the Civil Service Commission and the Treasury Board. It is significant that towards the end of the last session of parliament some members criticized the present situation of the Civil Service Commission, expressing disapproval over the apparent restriction of its authority. These men knew something was wrong, but they misjudged the trouble. What is called for is complete reconsideration of the position of the civil service.

The faults that occasion criticism are in part those of slow, cumbersome, bureaucratic machinery; in part those of personnel. To understand them it is necessary to review developments in the civil service since 1939. The most obvious change has been the extensive growth of its personnel. This placed a great strain on the commission which in consequence has functioned slowly in instances where wartime agencies were in need of haste. Partially as a result of this burden and partially as a result of the impatience of dollar-a-year men with government red tape, the commission has been sidetracked to some extent.

Following the precedent of the National Film Board, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and one or two other government-owned corporations or enterprises, new crown companies set up by the government, for example by the Department of Munitions and Supply are outside the commission's jurisdiction. Subject, usually, to the general approval of the controlling department and the Treasury Board, they make their own appointments.

At the same time some of the executive agencies, impatient of delay, have successfully assumed much control over internal appointments, acting virtually at their own discretion and merely getting formal post facto approval from the Civil Service Commission. There have been numerous cases of men being hired and starting work in a government department, nominally under commission control, without the commission learning of it until after the event, when asked to rubber-stamp the appointment. The agencies which have acted in this fashion are sufficiently vigorous and powerful to override normal formalities. Most of them are new.

Their power has resulted in unevenness in regard to salary arrangements which cause ill-feeling. Permanent departments insist on pursuing their regular course, taking on wartime help, of considerable experience at established rates of salary which are usually not on a par with salaries outside the civil service. The newer agencies more aware that good men from the business and professional world are worth money, pay salaries that enable them to attract ability. Thus the best leaders from outside are going, not into the regular departments, but into the newer wartime agencies. Take a specific example of a man in the thirties, of proven outstanding ability, with considerable training and experience, but not eligible for military service, who offers his services in Ottawa in several places.

In addition to these wartime developments, there are the following serious problems of long standing which desperately need remedy.

The permanent Civil Service offers security. The men who can give leadership in a country are not primarily interested in personal security, which is after all a selfish matter. At the same time, in the executive and administrative field the permanent civil service cannot compete with business and the professions because its general opportunities and salaries are not sufficiently attractive and because government service is, as already stated, tied up in various shades of red tape. Moreover, no one is ever discharged from the civil service, except in cases of great scandal. Inefficiency is put up with very frequently.

The result is obvious. The civil service attracts, with notable exceptions, the second-rate men of circumscribed vision; and because of its inability to rid itself of inefficient personnel it accumulates deadwood. Moreover, seniority is such an important part of civil service red tape that the deadwood is too often elevated to positions of some importance.

Part of this difficulty is, of course, related to French Canada, which, conscious of its minority rights, always insists that it be given a fair proportion of civil service jobs, in all departments and

at all levels. This completely upsets any merit system. While there are plenty of able French Canadians in government posts, the French Canadian educational system does not produce, on the average, a type as well-fitted for executive service as does the non-French Canadian education. This is admitted by the more intelligent French Canadians themselves.

Finally, one encounters the problem of women in the civil service, particularly in executive, administrative and professional posts. For a country as avowedly democratic and modern as Canada the situation is curious. There remain roots of old traditions which made it difficult for women to advance. Three or four women have obtained positions and salaries in government service commensurate with their training and ability. These are the exception. In general there is reluctance to treat women fairly. They may have excellent training and remarkable ability; in that case they are given posts in which they are worked hard and in which all their training and ability is required. But they are not given a salary or a rank that is in accordance with their work, and most certainly are not given the rank or salary that is given a man in a similar position. Here again there is no doubt that the business world is ahead of the civil service.

Remedy for these flaws is easy to point out but difficult to introduce. The civil service is by nature a slow-moving, habit-ridden body, which at present is undergoing a wholesome injection of new blood and new customs. What is needed most of all is less tolerance for inefficiency and more recognition, financial and otherwise, for ability. There should be fewer people kicked upstairs, and more kicked downstairs. The principle of seniority should not be the obstacle to ability that it is at present. Regular departments should not insist that employees must start at the bottom and work up in regular order but should recognize that business or professional experience outside the service is often of great value to a civil servant, and deserving of special recognition upon appointment to government service.

In short, if the government is to be good it must attract first-class people. Under normal circumstances it does not. At present patriotism has brought into Ottawa many men who in peacetime would not be available. To keep attracting men of this calibre the civil service must become less rigid, and should offer more freedom of action, less red tape, more chance of promotion, better incomes and a generally livelier atmosphere. Otherwise our administration will draw only the second-rate.

War exigencies are improving procedure by forcing, in some fields, decentralization and devolution—particularly in Munitions and Supply, Wartime

Prices and Trade Board and Selective Service. Personnel problems should, however, compel reconsideration of the functions of the Civil Service Commission. Rigid centralization is usually a handicap in large organizations; the government agencies which have outstanding war records are in many instances those which have freed themselves from much of the commission's machinery. Yet at the same time some central coördination of policy as to appointments and gradings is necessary. The commission cannot function as efficiently and rapidly in an overgrown wartime administration as it did in the comparatively small pre-war government service. Should it not, therefore, become a general policy-making body, concerned with broad principles and with appeals on specific problems? Then the actual machinery of appointment might be located to a much greater degree in the individual department or agency which, within broad limits established by the commission, would have greater freedom of action than has existed hitherto. If this cannot be done, the field of government service outside the jurisdiction of the commission is bound to increase.

Earth Enigma

Old, old is the earth:
Old as consciousness,
Older than pain,
As old as the first convulsive
Squeeze of breathing through the slime,
Old as the death and the birth
Of all livingness
Surpassing change and beyond time
—And older still again.

Yet not too gone
In the womb for the coming spring,
Young enough for living on
And loving—eternities
Of lovers; as young a thing
As the warm burst of sun
On the shimmering night-frost;
Young as the blue in a young girl's eyes
—Younger far than most.

As new and yet as ancient
As the last discovered star,
Older than thought
Or the first faint atavar;
Moon-heavy, interminable
And cold, O so cold
—To be so young;
So laden with birth and youth and song
—To be so old.

JAMES McDERMOTT

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Canadian Business Activity Up 4 Per Cent for 7 Months; Wholesale Prices Climbing

Ottawa, Sept. 9. — Important factors in the Canadian business picture are the following: The favorable position of the Canadian dollar, the high level of industrial production, the low cost of living, and the high level of employment.

BIG TEXTILE BEATS RECORD FOR 7 MONTHS

Montreal Cottons Doing Well

LAKE SHORE'S NET PROFIT \$2,279,231 IN PAST YEAR

Equal to \$1.14 Per Share. Output Lower, Working Capital Up

QUEBEC POWER EARNINGS GAIN

Net Before Taxes For First Half Up \$52,000 Before Taxes

Official earnings statement

Quebec Power Co.

Ottawa Faces Huge Subsidy Cost

Ottawa — Government purchases and subsidies in the

NET EARNINGS OF 233 COMPANIES UP 14.3 PER CENT

Gain Shown in Face of Heavier Taxes and Increased Depreciation Write-Offs

DOMINION BRIDGE REVENUES MAY REACH NEW PEAK

Operations of Canadian

Domestic

Bridge Co.

DISTRIBUTIONS IN AUGUST TO TOTAL OVER 10 MILLION

SUB

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BREWERIES' NET UP IN QUARTER AND 9 MONTHS

Gain Develops in Face of Heavier Taxation, Working Capital Is Up

Operations of Canadian

Breweries

Co.

Canada Packers Sales Reach \$144.5 Millions

Record Increase Accompa

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Domestic

Canada Packers

Co.

Co.

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Co.

SHARP GAIN IN ALCOHOL PROFIT

Record Increase Accompa

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Domestic

Alcohol

Co.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Modern Man

ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM: Erich Fromm; Oxford (Farrar and Rinehart); pp. 305; \$3.00.

To understand Dr. Fromm's fascinating analysis of modern man, whether authoritarian or democratic, we may start from the distinction he draws between 'freedom from' and 'freedom to'. The first is the removal of external restraints and compulsions; it is negative and may well leave the individual more insecure, more helpless, less sure of his relation to society, free only as a ship that has cut away from its moorings, but without either rudder or pilot. The freedom to act, on the other hand, comes only to the man who has reintegrated himself into society at a higher level. Dr. Fromm's thesis is that man fears above all else to be alone, and that the anxious insecurity of the merely negatively free will drive them to seek escape at any cost from an intolerable burden.

Hence the escape from freedom into complete submission, entrusting the self completely to an external power, a dictator or 'magic helper'. But, because man cannot deny himself with impunity, this submission gives only temporary relief, the relation to authority contains suppressed hatred and rebelliousness, it is a 'sado-masochistic' relationship, inevitably accompanied by cruelty and anxiety.

There is another form of escape, however, one more characteristic of the democratic man, "the solution that the majority of normal individuals find in modern society"; it is the escape into automatism. This is the adoption of all feelings and thoughts from the outside, until one's own real feelings and thoughts are completely submerged. Dr. Fromm cites the extreme example of the man who feels and acts as the result of hypnotic suggestion, never doubting that the thoughts and feelings are his own. "In the course of modern history the authority of the Church has been replaced by that of the State, that of the State by that of conscience, and, in our ear, the latter has been replaced by the anonymous authority of common sense and public opinion as instruments of conformity."

Both forms of escape are dangerous. "Giving up spontaneity and individuality results in a thwarting of life. Psychologically the automaton, while being alive biologically, is dead emotionally and mentally."

There is, however, a positive solution for those who can come to terms with freedom. Dr. Fromm does not condemn us to a never-ending circle of new bondages. As he says, we all know individuals who think, feel and act as individuals, with a place in society and a satisfactory relation to their fellow-men. For Dr. Fromm fully realizes, as Aristotle did, that man is a social animal who can only fully realize himself as a member of a community. "If human freedom is established as 'freedom to', if man can realize his self fully and uncompromisingly, the fundamental cause of his asocial drives will have disappeared, and only a sick and abnormal individual will be dangerous."

One very attractive feature of this book is the intellectual balance of the author. Though writing as a psychologist, he nowhere minimizes the importance of economic and political factors. To him man and society are mutu-

ally interdependent, and, if environment makes man, man also makes his environment in the end. A great admirer of Freud, he does not hesitate to reject Freud's conclusions, and has some very shrewd comments to make upon that great man.

Starting from the emergence of the individual, he establishes his main thesis that the mere loosening of bonds is not freedom, but often leaves the individual, and whole social groups, more terrifyingly alone. He analyses this condition at the time of the reformation, and the doctrines of Luther and Calvin in this context. Then comes the so-called freedom under capitalism and a very enlightening discussion of the psychological background that made Nazism possible and keeps it in power. I give two quotations that may show more clearly the importance of this study at the present time:

"Only in a planned economy in which the whole nation has rationally mastered the economic and social forces can the individual share responsibility and use creative intelligence in his work. All that matters is that the opportunity for genuine activity be restored to the individual; that the purposes of society and his own become identical, not ideologically but in reality; and that he apply his effort and reason actively to the work he is doing as something for which he can feel responsible because it has meaning and purpose in terms of his human ends. We must replace manipulation of men by active and intelligent co-operation, and expand the principle of government of the people, by the people, for the people, from the formal political to the economic sphere."

And again:

"Unless planning from the top is blended with active participation from below, unless the stream of social life continuously flows from below upwards, a planned economy will lead to renewed manipulation of the people. To solve this problem of combining centralization with decentralization is one of the major tasks of society."

The whole treatise is an excellent formulation, in psychological terms, of the aims of democratic socialism.

G. M. A. GRUBE

Beyond the Urals

SOVIET ASIA—DEMOCRACY'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE: Raymond Arthur Davies and Andrew J. Steiger; Longmans, Green & Co. (The Dial Press); pp. 384; \$4.00.

IN A RECENT BOOK the journalist, Mr. Bruce Hutchinson, has told the world that Canadians have built more, subdued more and sweated more than any other people. This boast seems like smug ignorance after reading Messrs. Davies and Steiger's account of the transformation of the people and the land of Soviet Asia during the last twenty years: of tomatoes ripening underground on the coasts of the Arctic Ocean, of potatoes growing in trenches in the desert, of herds of cattle in the Mongolian People's Republic, three times as large as the entire cattle herd of Canada, of steel plants in the wilderness, of universities

on the edge of the Arctic circle, of man transformed and woman liberated.

Messrs. Davies and Steiger have attempted with a good measure of success, to compress within the compass of a popular book of 350 pages something of the history, the economy, the politics and the meaning of the vast area of the U.S.S.R. beyond the Urals. For those who are sitting back in the hope that the Nazis and the Reds will slug themselves into exhaustion, SOVIET ASIA should provide a comforting assurance that the U.S.S.R. can last for at least a few years more. For those intelligent and modest enough to admit that the representative democracies can learn something from the Soviet democracies, the book is a valuable introduction to two profound lessons: one for Canada in particular, and the other for the United Nations, and especially the authors of the Atlantic Charter.

In Soviet Asia the Soviet people face geographical, political and economic problems similar at least in part to that facing Canada. Canada and the U.S.S.R. are the two nations possessing a vast Arctic and sub-Arctic wilderness. Both are peopled by diverse races. In Soviet Asia a multitude of races have found a way of working together and helping each other, and by co-operation and social planning of transforming a vast and stubborn wilderness into a home fit for civilized men to live in. In their deserts and forests they have built up a balanced industrial structure and extended greatly the area of cultivation. Everywhere they have built schools, universities, hospitals and clinics. This achievement is worthy of some notice by Canadians, and the glimpse that Messrs. Steiger and Davies have given us of this vast land is enough to quicken our realization that, measured by Soviet standards, we have not done enough in the matter of building organic national unity and developing civilization in our northern wilderness.

For the United Nations, the experience in Asia is equally a source of lessons. Under the Czars the Asiatic peoples were oppressed and exploited. Russian soldiers were required to keep them in a state of subjection, and the poverty and backwardness of the territory were no asset to the Russian economy as a whole no matter how much may have passed into the hands of army officers, landlords and traders. Today the peoples of Asia are an asset to the U.S.S.R. as a whole. They are sending troops and supplies of the highest quality TO THE FRONT. Compare this with India and Egypt. We are forced by the grim facts of imperialist economy and politics to send troops and supplies AWAY from the principal theatre of war because the people of Asia have neither the means nor the disposition to help themselves. Indeed, they are threatening to revolt in our hour of peril.

Because it teaches lessons we must learn if we are going to survive, Messrs. Davies and Steiger's work is of first-rate importance. SOVIET ASIA is a good piece of journalism, and a useful elementary bibliography provides a guide for those anxious to know more about one of the most amazing incidents in the evolution of man. H. S.

Canadian Writing

FIRST STATEMENT, A Magazine for Young Canadian Writers: John Sutherland, Editor; Vol. I, Nos. 1-3 (Montreal, P.Q.); \$1 a year.

THIS LITTLE MAGAZINE comes out in mimeographed sheets, and, like PM, which otherwise it does not resemble, it is stapled and carries no advertising. Brought out by five young Montreal people, its editor

says that, as Canadians pay very little attention to their literature, "a display of activity may symbolize a future, and plant a suggestion in someone's mind." The magazine is to remind us that even when we are apparently least concerned with poetry, the purely creative spirit still survives in Canada, producing the odd sprig of edelweiss among the snows. Their main concern, therefore, is with literature as an end in itself. They consider that those who are concerned with it as a means, like many with strong political views, do not show a proper respect for craftsmanship, using words vaguely or messily to express a non-literary meaning. "Every word," says one contributor, "contains what amounts nearly to a godhead." This feeling that literature is primarily magical or evocative gives to the magazine a strongly imagist tone, reminiscent, in its way, of similar projects that appeared in the dying years of the last war.

No reviewer has any right to be patronizing, but there is something rather quaint and old-fashioned about this first statement, with its accent on youth, its earnest and rather pompous statement of ideals, its acute sense of the contrast of art and vulgarity, its opening plunge into a story without a single capital or punctuation mark. The poetry is much better than the prose: I liked "The Flight of the Revellers," by Mary Miller. Its main defect is the kind of self-consciousness bred by this view of the associative impact of words. Too many phrases and images are deliberately striking, produced with something of the smugness of Little Jack Horner. Compare Mr. Creighton's remark about Bliss Carman in his review in last month's Canadian Forum. I find "a thigh smooth," "the poor soil lovely," "the green upspringing," "a breath spilling," in one short poem, which are inversions too many. I find "they all bend down swaying minds to listen to uncreated sounds crawling like caged animals inside the rock," "they" being obscure modern poets and the rock the one struck by Moses, which is overdone. I find

And the blank litanies of sharp churches

Formed fretworks to cage his soul.

which is addled. But the magazine is pleasant to come upon, and if it keeps going for "at least a year," as promised, fine, and more power to it. N.F.

SALT MARSH: Anne Marriott; Ryerson; pp. 16; 75c.

TOWN AND FOREST: Lyon Sharman; Macmillan; pp. 73.

WHAT FAR KINGDOM: Arthur S. Bourinot; pp. 66; \$1.50.

AFTERDUSK: Mary Frances Edwards; privately printed; pp. 28.

CONTEMPORARY VERSE, A Canadian Quarterly: Alan Crawley, Editor; Vol. 1, No. 4 (June, 1942); pp. 18; 25c per copy, \$1.00 per year.

THE SASKATCHEWAN POETRY BOOK, 1942-43: The Saskatchewan Poetry Society (Regina, Sask.); pp. 32; 35c.

POETRY PUBLICATIONS in this country do not come upon us as vitalizing shocks. They are seldom, if ever, preceded by radio publicity, like the latest movie, or announced on billboards along the highway. Instead they go forth—mostly to the poets themselves and their friends—with a kind of mild unobtrusiveness, with almost an air of indecision and reluctance.

This is true of many of the Ryerson chapbooks and is especially so in the case of this latest one by Anne Marriott, whose work would undoubtedly reach a wider public if its physical setting were more attractively up-to-date. SALT MARSH consists of thirty short poems dealing with the seacoast, the prairie, clouds and cities. Miss

Marriott writes with a sense of physical action in the stripped style of the visionary beset by war headlines and mechanization. She is on the alert for getting down colors, shapes and sounds. Sometimes this becomes merely a matter of reportage, with the use of many hyphenated adjectives, a thinness of emotion and a poetic meaning abstracted from the assembled mass of impressions as an afterthought. She is keenly aware of nature, however, as in "Tide Spell," shows strength of character, as in "Lines on Making a Decision," and, in general, conveys a sensation of dash and vigor.

TOWN AND COUNTRY has a kind of delicate practicality. It flows smoothly from section one, entitled, "House and Home," to section five, entitled, "Wild Ways," and treats mostly of mundane subjects, though technically suggesting the influence of Chinese poetry. These poems are, as people say, "easy to read." They rarely show any evidence of emotional torture and generally indicate an unquestioning acceptance of middle-class conventions and standards of behavior. They have, however, the merit of curiosity. The author wonders about things. She is sometimes puzzled by human beings, as in the section "Other People," relishes an atmosphere of refinement, but also views the natural beauty of the Algonquin forest and the Rockies with pleasure and approval.

The title poem of TO WHAT FAR KINGDOM, in which the author muses vaguely on the possibility of an after-life, prepares one for work of intellectual mediocrity. Throughout this book there is the wistful tone that pervades so much French poetry, with a hint of gracious manners and a sympathetic nature. The longer historical pieces, as "Marguerite de Roberval," which Mr. Bourinot has written with gentle perseverance, show the result of considerable research and organizational ability. They are apt, however, to be too weakly imaginative to be more than merely pleasing. And it is disturbing to find that the author, in spite of his undoubted skill as a poet, is inclined toward the sycophancy of the laureate type of writer who is ready with verse for all occasions.

Some of Miss Edwards' twenty-two poems are unusual in having emotional richness and depth, qualities which are often lacking in our literature. She reveals a sensitivity to words as musical sounds and a love of music is pretty consistently evident throughout her slight but interesting volume. Some of her shorter rhymed poems would be effective as song lyrics, as may be suggested by the first stanza of "Alone":

"I never hear a violin
But I remember you;
The melody of April rain
And sunlight breaking through."

CONTEMPORARY VERSE is outstanding, at least in its aims, which an editorial note states "are to entice and stimulate the writing and reading of poetry and to provide means for its publication free from restraint of politics, prejudices and placations . . ." The contributors to this issue are James Wreford, Anne Marriott, Nathan Ralph, Earle Birney and Doris Ferne. The contributions are generally brisk and stimulating. Sometimes the author seems to be trying terribly hard to be colloquial without loss of dignity, or to write poetry by being supremely smart in the use of words. But there is work here of refreshing directness, as Doris Ferne's "On Some Canadian Verse," which begins

"Never while sitting remote
regarding her own navel
shall she be free
to utter the wounds of the world,
she shall not even speak

the travail of Montreal
nor the mourning of Winnipeg . . ."

THE SASKATCHEWAN POETRY BOOK, 1942-43, which includes some thirty-two authors, is less impressive. Most of the contributions tend toward light verse of a homey sort, reflecting the friendly tone of people living in a big country of wheat fields, roses and flying geese. A good many of them merely achieve a state of childlike awe, suggesting the work of a successful housewife or grocer who has found poetry a pleasing diversion. The collection ends rather noisily on the theme of "A Toast for St. George's Day." But on the whole I found it pleasanter reading than MacLean's or the Star Weekly.

ALAN CREIGHTON

VICTORY OR VESTED INTEREST?: G. D. H. Cole and others; Labor Book Service (London, England); pp. 97; 90c in Canada.

THIS SMALL COLLECTION of lectures, delivered in England by such intellectual leaders of the Labor party as G. D. H. Cole and Harold Laski, is interesting as it reflects the new determination and confidence of that group to face the problems of war and reconstruction. As its title intimates, it deals primarily with the problem of preventing private interests from interfering with either the successful prosecution of the war or the winning of a better society afterwards and as such has a message applicable to Canada. As in most compilations such as this, the standard varies greatly from the acute and practical analysis of Harold Laski to the wishy-washy theorizing of George Orwell.

G. P. G.

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Salt Marsh: Anne Marriott; Ryerson; pp. 16; 75c.

Afterdusk: Mary Frances Edwards; privately printed; pp. 28.

Flying Colors: edited by Sir Charles G. D. Roberts; Ryerson; pp. 126; 60c.

Trade Union Agreements in Canadian Industry: Industrial Relations Section, Queen's University (Kingston, Ont.), Bulletin No. 6; pp. 177.

What Far Kingdom: Arthur S. Bourinot; Ryerson; pp. 66; \$1.50.

Thorn-Apple Tree: Grace Campbell; Collins; pp. 230; \$2.50.

The Roots of American Culture: Constance Rourke; George J. McLeod Ltd. (Harcourt, Brace & Co.); pp. 305; \$3.75.

Problems of Hemispheric Defense: John B. Condliffe and others; Univ. of California Press; pp. 139; cloth, \$1.50, paper, \$1.00 (U.S.A.).

American Unity and Asia: Pearl S. Buck; Longmans, Green & Co. (The John Day Co.); pp. 140; \$2.00.

THE CANADA YEAR BOOK 1942 is now available for distribution. It extends to over 1,000 pages, dealing with all phases of national life. Persons requiring the Year Book may obtain it from the King's Printer, Ottawa, at the price of \$1.50 per copy. By a special concession a limited number of paper-bound copies have been set aside for ministers of religion, bona fide students and school teachers, who may obtain such copies at the nominal price of 50 cents each, but application for these special copies should be directed to the Dominion



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"Jim is working on munitions. Jack is at the aircraft plant. And Nora is on war work, too. There's more money coming into the house than we've ever seen before.

"Thank goodness, they're all pretty sensible. They don't need much urging to buy Victory Bonds, not with George over there in the Commandos, and saved, by the grace of God, at Dieppe.

"We're not throwing our money around. We're cutting down here and there, so as to have a decent

home for George to come back to, with no fear of the future in it. The bonds help to pay for the war, certainly, but we're doing this for ourselves."

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